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ABSTRACT

The text of a Senate hearing on the status of youth gangs and their access to guns, and of violence prevention programs is provided in this document. Statements from Senators Herbert Kohl, Paul Simon, and Dennis DeConcini are presented. Testimony and prepared statements from these witnesses is included: (1) James Gabarino, president, Erikson Institute for Advanced Study in Child Development, Chicago (Illinois); (2) Anthony J. Maggiore, Office of the Milwaukee County District Attorney, Milwaukee (Wisconsin); (3) Robert Odom, executive director, Social Development Commission, Milwaukee (Wisconsin); and (4) Deborah Prothrow-Stith, assistant dean, School of Public Health, Harvard University, Boston (Massachusetts). A prepared statement of Victor Davis, a former gang member, is also included. (ABL)

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S. HRG. 102-665

YOUTH VIOLENCE AND GANGS

ED349484

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUVENILE JUSTICE

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

THE STATUS OF THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM IN AMERICA, FOCUSING ON ACTIVITIES OF YOUTH GANGS AND THEIR ACCESS TO GUNS, AND HOW PROGRAMS CAN HELP PREVENT THE VIOLENCE ASSOCIATED WITH YOUTH GANGS

NOVEMBER 26, 1991

Serial No. J-102-45

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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YOUTH VIOLENCE AND GANGS

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1991

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON JUVENILE JUSTICE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:37 a.m., in room SD-226, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Herb Kohl (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Also present: Senators DeConcini, Simon [ex officio], and Brown.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT KOHL, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

Senator KOHL. Good morning. I am pleased to call this hearing to order. This is the third in a series of juvenile justice oversight hearings, and this morning we are looking at the war time emergency posed by youth violence and youth gangs.

A war is any conflict in which 1,000 or more people die. According to this internationally recognized standard, American adolescents are at war, not in some distant jungle or far-flung desert, but here at home on our streets, in our schools, and in our cities. Since 1988, at least 2,000 homicide victims a year have been children under the age of 18, and the enemy stalking these victims more likely than not is someone their own age.

Adolescents who belong to gangs often regard all nonmembers as rivals, and therefore legitimate prey for attack. Drive-by shootings by juveniles are often the result of gang warfare, drug-dealing, or random acts of rage. Young muggers, whether they belong to a gang or not, may attack simply to get their victims' sneakers, their jackets, or their jewelry.

Most often, violent juveniles target their peers. Young people between the ages of 11 and 24 are more likely to be robbed, raped and assaulted than any other group of Americans. And, tragically, such victimization increases the risk that today's targets will turn around and become tomorrow's next violent offenders.

Across the country, youth violence is on the rise. Here in the District of Columbia, the number of juveniles arrested for homicide soared by 320 percent in a 4-year period, and youth gangs, a fact of American urban life since the 1950's, are more numerous and more violent than ever. In my home town of Milwaukee, where one out of every six homicides involves a gang member, gangs are now recruiting children as young as 9 years old.

Increased access to assault weapons and other firearms is making gang-related violence all the more deadly. The weapons of

choice for some youth gangs now include Uzis and MAC 10's. In Milwaukee, the majority of juveniles arrested for homicide say they had ready access to rifles and handguns, and school districts across the country now identify drugs, gangs and weapons as their most significant safety problems.

Our witnesses this morning will outline a range of options for stopping this onslaught. Some assert we need to strengthen law enforcement. Others contend we need to channel our efforts into education and job training to get at the root causes of poverty and abuse. All agree we need a more coordinated approach linking law and order to community intervention and prevention programs. Juvenile judges in my State, for example, want to assign all first-time young offenders brought in on weapons charges to comprehensive community-based supervision.

As chairman, I will be looking closely at these suggestions and others for preventing and deterring youth violence. Last month, the President said, and I quote, "We have seen too many generations of children whose haunted eyes show only fear, too many funerals for their brothers and sisters." The President was referring to the children of the Middle East. He implored everyone to resolve their conflicts for the sake of these children, and, of course, we all agreed.

But we should also direct our attention to children and adolescents growing up in violence here at home, in our Nation's capital, in Milwaukee, Los Angeles, and in so many other cities. These younger Americans also deserve a safe haven from violence, and so we hope this morning's hearing is at least a step in that direction.

Senator SIMON.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL SIMON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Senator SIMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First, I want to thank you for holding the hearings and for your leadership in this whole field. I am here, among other things, even though I am not a member of your subcommittee, specifically because Dr. Jim Garbarino, the president of the Erikson Institute, is here. He has recently written a book entitled "No Place to Be a Child," about the problems that children face in what are called war zones in Chicago, in Cambodia, and in other places.

There was another recent book written by Alex Koplowitz—I don't remember the name of it—about two boys growing up in a public housing project in Chicago, the Henry Horner Project, that is a moving description of what the needs are. Just recently in Cook County the prosecuting attorney—we call him a State's attorney in Illinois—the prosecuting attorney indicted a 13-year-old and a 14-year-old for killing a 14-year-old in the whole question of gang recruitment.

My staff tells me the name of the Alex Koplowitz book is "There Are No Children Here." It is also a moving description of what our children face, and clearly we have to do better as a nation. I thank you again for your leadership.

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Senator Simon.

Senator Brown, do you have some comments you would like to make?

Senator BROWN. Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you for holding this hearing. Your attention to this important matter, I think, is going to be a key to developing new legislation in this area, and I look forward with you to the hearing this morning.

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much.

Well, our first panel this morning is here with us. We have Mr. Robert Odom, who is the executive director of the Social Development Commission in Milwaukee. Mr. Odom has many years of experience working with young people in a range of positions, from street outreach worker in Minneapolis working with youth gangs, to executive director of the YMCA and Community Action Agency.

And we have Dr. Jim Garbarino, who is president of the Erikson Institute in Chicago. Dr. Garbarino is an international expert on child abuse and child development. His most recent book is entitled "No Place to Be a Child: Growing up in a War Zone." In this book, Dr. Garbarino compares and contrasts the plight of kids living in our violent inner cities with kids in combat zones overseas.

We are happy to have you with us this morning, gentlemen. To allow enough time for questions and discussion, I am asking you to keep your oral remarks brief, to no longer than 5 minutes. Your written statements will be automatically made part of the record in their entirety.

Mr. Odom.

PANEL CONSISTING OF ROBERT ODOM, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION, MILWAUKEE, WI; AND JAMES GARBARINO, PRESIDENT, ERIKSON INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT, CHICAGO, IL

STATEMENT OF ROBERT ODOM

Mr. ODOM. Thank you. Good morning, Senator Kohl and other members of the committee. My name is Robert Odom. I am the executive director of the Social Development Commission in Milwaukee, WI.

I would like to begin today by asking a basic question. What is America's truth? To me, the answer is both simple and profound. America is a better future, equal opportunity, inclusiveness, belonging, choice, safety and security, being our brother's keeper, helping the underdog. This truth contrasts with the daily truth of so many inner-city children in our cities. For them, life is no future, despair, no access to opportunity, violence, drugs, child abuse, public chaos, deteriorating housing, decay, and filth. For these young people, America is a lie.

Gangs are the truth. Gangs provide opportunity, protection, belonging, inclusion, brotherhood, help to the underdog, promise for the future. Gangs become the truth to these young people. America is the lie. What we must do is make America the truth for the children of America's inner cities.

Youth and young adult gangs in Milwaukee, WI, and other cities in our States are indeed an accelerating problem. Milwaukee, as many other mid-sized cities, started experiencing these gang prob-

lems in the 1980's. Stealing, drugs, prostitution, and violence were present, but less prevalent than today. Approximately 3,000 youth and young people are involved in gangs to some degree, but gang behavior has become increasingly violent. Gang members from other cities have come to Milwaukee to make their fortunes. Guns, drugs, and violence pervade much of the gang behavior in Milwaukee, especially that of the older gang members. Violence and death are pervasive and now reach down to shatter lives of young children, including girls.

Gangs tragically disrupt the lives of young people involved in gangs. They rob them of their future. They result in totally unnecessary and foolish deaths of young people, especially young black males and other minorities in our communities. Precious, valuable lives are lost. At the same time, gang behavior ravages our neighborhoods, our schools, and our centers. Innocent victims suffer and children lose their childhood. This loss of childhood is the ultimate deprivation of life's most precious gift. Children robbed of this irreplaceable gift can never recapture it because one gets but one chance at childhood. Unknowingly, reacting to this loss, these children, in turn, negatively and violently act out.

We must remove gangs and violence from our communities. The removal of gang behavior, in my opinion, will not be accomplished solely or even principally by suppression. Clearly, criminals must be caught and punished and, if possible, rehabilitated. Crime cannot be tolerated, but to approach all gang and all youth and gangs through a suppression-only mode is counterproductive and, in the long run, will be much more costly to our communities and society as a whole.

Fundamentally, we need to provide these young people with the opportunity to become part of America's truth. We in Milwaukee, through the Social Development Commission, have been involved since 1983 in a variety of gang intervention programs. Currently, we have street outreach workers who intervene in crisis situations. They also help young men and women leave gangs. We have recently added a component to address directly alcohol and drug abuse problems of young people and what they face, and perhaps most importantly, followup after treatment is completed to help a young man or woman remain drug-free.

Recently, we began a special demonstration project funded by the Federal Department of Health and Human Services Family Enhancement Program to work with the younger siblings of Hispanic gang members so that they do not join gangs. I believe that these early intervention efforts will pay long-range dividends and need to be expanded.

An important tenet of our program is that we do not try to do everything ourselves. We work closely with the public schools. We have established a working relationship with the Milwaukee Police Department. We work closely with the children's court and local municipal courts where a large number of juvenile offenders are adjudicated. We work closely with alcohol and drug abuse providers, especially those who are interested in young people and who have culturally sensitive programming.

It is clear to us that all pertinent community resources should be coordinated and mobilized to effectively address this problem. This

is not to give the impression by any stretch of the imagination that we have it all together. What we have is basically a sound approach to the problem.

I mentioned before to you that suppression alone won't work. I speak from personal experience. I grew up in Bedford Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, NY, at a time when gang activity was common in my neighborhood. I was a gang outreach worker in Minneapolis in the 1970's. I know personally that all gang members are not the same. They are not all vicious people with glaring eyes toting guns and selling drugs to helpless people. Many gang members are scared young people who need a source of identity. Others have joined gangs simply because they felt a need for protection. Still others become involved in gangs, but then fear for their own lives if they stay in the gang.

These young people want out and they want help getting out. That is what our Youth Diversion Program is doing now, and that is what I did in Minneapolis. I can say quite honestly that this does work. Many of the former gang members that I work with are now teachers and mechanics, factory workers, et cetera. They are happy and productive citizens. They wanted out of the gangs. They wanted America's truth, and with a little help they found that truth.

But our efforts should not focus on youth only after they become involved in gangs. We need to develop comprehensive early intervention strategies that help young people. I myself believe that we need to develop in inner-city areas throughout the country "Teaching Children to Be Children Centers." These centers would be based in local neighborhoods; they would be safe, secure, and caring. They would have rules that must be followed. All children would have to pay whatever they could afford to belong. I believe that everybody needs to contribute something and not just get it for free.

Parents have to become involved. School attendance and passing grades would be required for continuing membership. Workers would come from the neighborhood, work at the centers, and be role models for these young children. These centers must be a physical beacon in the neighborhoods. They must be state-of-the-art in terms of construction and equipment. They should be something that these children have never seen before. They must show young people that they are worth the best. The facility itself should engender hope, promise, future, caring, safety and security, and demonstrate America's caring truth.

We can show children that there are positive opportunities in their lives. We can instill in them self-esteem and responsibility and respect for others. We can stop gangs by having young people who have respect for others and who do not want violence to prevail in their lives and in their communities. These will be young people who have hope, feel they belong, and have opportunities for a better future.

Based on my experience, I would like to offer two recommendations for inclusion in the revision of the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act as areas for research and demonstration.

First, I think we need to further demonstrate integrated, communitywide systems to address the gang issue. These systems need to

include prevention, early intervention, suppression, correction, and rehabilitation. A continuum of services needs to be put in place, a continuum that can help us find the most effective way not only to prevent gangs, but also to develop young people.

These comprehensive systems must include the cooperation of all the major youth-serving institutions and agencies in the community. The schools, police, social service agencies, the courts, corrections, probation and parole must all be a part of the network of services that addresses the needs of young people.

Second, a strategy of prevention and early intervention through "Teaching Children to Be Children Centers" should be tested. These neighborhood-based and controlled centers can offer children a safe, secure, and caring place that can provide age-appropriate opportunities, instill responsibility, and involve the family.

As I prepared for this testimony, I thought that if I could help prevent the loss of one young life, if I could help one child grow up and live a life without unnecessary fear and hopeful for his own future, this testimony would be a success. We cannot give up on most of the young people involved in gangs. We cannot let young people have the gangs as the only truth that they know and believe in.

Golda Meir was asked when the war and killing would stop in Israel. She answered, "When they love their children more than they hate us." Children and young people will stop joining gangs when life, hope, and the future are seen as more positive than the deadly promises of gangs. The violence and death will stop and our children will stop joining gangs when America shows it loves and values its children more than anything else. Then America will be the truth for our inner-city children.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Odom follows:]

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Victim Assistance
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Westside Neighborhood
Service Center
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Drug Environment
Youth Diversion
Youth Diversion AODA
Youth Food

Testimony of Robert Odom
Executive Director
Social Development Commission

to the
Juvenile Justice Subcommittee
of the
Senate Judiciary Committee

on
Youth Gangs and Violence

November 26, 1991

Committed to working with low-income people to bring about positive change in their lives and in the community

"The house I live in, the plot of earth, the tree
The grocer and the butcher, and the people that I see
The children in the playground, the many lights I see
But especially the people, that's America to me."

American Folk Tune

Senator Kohl and Other Members of the Committee:

My name is Robert Odom, Executive Director of the Social Development Commission in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. I'd like to begin today by asking a basic question:

What is America's truth?

To me, the answer is both simple and profound. America is:

- A Better Future
- Equal Opportunity
- Inclusiveness
- Belonging
- Choice
- Safety and Security
- Being Our Brother's Keeper
- Helping the Underdog

This truth contrasts with the daily truth of so many inner city children. For them life is:

- No Future
- Despair

- No Access to Opportunity
- Violence
- Drugs
- Child Abuse
- Public Chaos
- Deteriorated Housing
- Decay and Filth

For these young people, America is a lie. Gangs are the truth. Gangs provide opportunity, protection, belonging, inclusion, brotherhood, help to the underdog, a promise for the future. Gangs become the truth for these young people; America is the lie. What we must do is make America the truth for the children of America's inner cities.

Youth and young adult gangs in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as in other cities in our states, are indeed an accelerating problem. Milwaukee, as many other mid-size cities, began to experience a gang problem in the early 80s. Initially, this problem was primarily one of local groups being organized in geographic areas to protect themselves and their turf. Stealing, drugs, prostitution, and violence were present but, in retrospect, less prevalent than today. Since then, matters have worsened. The numbers of youth involved in gangs have remained virtually constant; approximately 3,000 youth and young people are involved in gangs to some degree. But gang behavior has become increasingly violent. Gang members from other cities have come to Milwaukee to make their fortunes. Guns, drugs, and violence pervade much of the gang behavior in Milwaukee, especially that of

older gang members. Violence and death are pervasive and now reach down to shatter the lives of younger children, including girls.

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An important tenet of our program is that we do not try to do everything by ourselves. We work closely with the Milwaukee Public Schools. We have established a working relationship with the Milwaukee Police Department. We work closely with the Children's Court and our local Municipal Court, where a large number of juvenile offenders are adjudicated. We work closely with alcohol and drug abuse providers, especially those who are interested in young people and who have culturally sensitive programming. It is clear to us that all pertinent community resources should be coordinated and mobilized to effectively address this problem. This is not to give the impression by any stretch of the imagination that we have it together; what we have is a basically sound approach to the problem.

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But our efforts should not focus on youth only after they are involved in gangs. We need to develop comprehensive early intervention strategies that help young people. I myself believe that we need to develop in inner city areas, throughout the county, "Teaching Children To Be Children Centers". These centers would be based in local neighborhoods. They would be safe, secure, and caring. They would have rules that must be followed. All children would have to pay whatever they could to belong. Parents would have to

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become involved. School attendance and passing grades would be required for continued membership. Workers would come from the neighborhood, work at the center, and be models for younger children.

These centers must also be physical beacons in their neighborhoods. They must be state of the art in terms of construction and equipment. They should be something these children have never seen. They must show young people that they are worth the best. The facility itself should engender hope, promise, future, caring, safety, and security, and demonstrate America's caring truth.

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Based on my experience, I would like to offer two recommendations for inclusion in the revision of the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act as areas for research and demonstration. First, I think we need to further demonstrate integrated, community-wide systems to address the gang issue. These systems need to include prevention, early intervention, suppression, corrections, and rehabilitation. A continuum of services needs to be put in place, a continuum that can help us find the most effective ways, not only to

prevent gangs, but also to develop young people. These comprehensive systems must include the cooperation of all the major youth serving institutions and agencies in the community. The schools, police, social service agencies, the courts, corrections, probation and parole must all be part of a network of services that addresses the needs of young people.

Secondly, a strategy of prevention and early intervention through "Teaching Children To Be Children Centers" should be tested. These neighborhood based and controlled centers can offer children a safe, secure, and caring place that can provide age-appropriate opportunities, instill responsibility and involve the family.

As I prepared for this testimony, I thought that if I could help prevent the loss of one young life, if I could help one child grow up to be without unnecessary fear and hopeful for his or her own future, this testimony would be a success.

We cannot give up on most of the young people involved in gangs. We cannot let young people have the gang as the only truth they know and believe in.

Golda Meir was asked when the war and the killing would stop in Israel. She answered, "When they love their children more than they hate us." Children and young people will stop joining gangs when life, hope, and the future are seen as more positive than the deadly promises of the gang. The violence and death will stop and our

children will stop joining gangs when America shows it loves and values its children more than anything else. Then America will be the truth for our inner city children.

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Mr. Odom.
Dr. GARBARINO.

STATEMENT OF JAMES GARBARINO

Mr. GARBARINO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In addition to my written statement which has been filed with the staff, I would like to make some additional comments. The first is to read a brief report from a mother and ask you to consider where this mother lives. She says:

> About 2 months before I had my second baby, I was just walking, going to my sister's house, and they came running, shooting. They were shooting at each other, and it was frightening, too, because I had my little girl, my 3-year-old, with me and I didn't know which way to run. We just laid on the ground until they got through shooting. I laid on top of her, but it was just the idea that we had to get down on the ground. She was screaming and I was trying to calm her down. After that, we didn't go outside that day. We just went back upstairs.

That incident could certainly have been happening in Beirut or one of the other foreign war zones we hear about in the news. But, actually, it took place in Chicago. A few years ago, in the space of a few weeks, the Red Cross withdrew its programs from two places because they decided it was too dangerous for their staff. One was Beirut, Lebanon, and the other was a west side Chicago neighborhood. I think we all should be shocked by these parallels, these similarities, between children growing up in war zones in other countries and in parts of our own cities.

In the last 6 years, I have made visits to war zones around the world—Cambodia, Nicaragua; Mozambique; the Middle East; and at the end of the Gulf war in Kuwait—arriving the day after the Iraqi soldiers left. Next month I will be traveling to Iraq on behalf of the United Nations. In all of these places, what strikes me over and over again are the parallels to the experience of children and youth in these war zones and in neighborhoods in my own city, in Chicago.

I brought with me a drawing—I think staff has them for the Senators and there are some extra copies for the press—a drawing that was made by a 12-year-old boy in Chicago just last week. He was asked in the context of a larger interview to draw a picture of where he lives. This is something we have done in countries around the world. It is a way of giving children a chance to represent what is on their minds about the places they live in.

This drawing looks like a war zone. On the left, there is a picture of an apartment building in the housing project where he lives, with guns pointing out of the windows. There are street corners with rival gangs shouting insults, throwing bottles back and forth, and finally pulling out their weapons. Interesting, and I think a complement to Robert Odom's testimony—one of the gang members is saying to his friend, "Don't be scared."

I think we see in the adolescent years the fruits of childhood experience of fear and trauma. According to research on posttraumatic stress disorder, young children are three times as likely as older kids and adults to be adversely affected by what we would think of as traumatic experiences, and it is very clear that children growing up in inner-city environments face not just the risks of poverty and

family disruption, but the risk of living in traumatizing environments.

We found in Chicago in our studies, for example, that by age 5 virtually all the children in some of the neighborhoods have firsthand encounters with shooting. And more than that, they begin to shape their day-to-day behavior around the need to be safe from being shot. In their homes, they are told when the shooting starts to go into the bathroom because there are no windows. They are told never to play outside at certain times of day because there isn't enough cover—and they mean "cover" in the sense that a soldier would—cover when the shooting begins. They are told not to turn on the lights in their apartments until they have pulled down the blinds because "you are too good a target" otherwise.

Others have found that by age 15 in some neighborhoods in Chicago, 30 percent of all the kids have witnessed a homicide. By age 15, about 75 percent have witnessed a life-threatening assault with a knife or a gun.

A few weeks ago in the Chicago Tribune, in the local news section, the headline story was "Homicide-Free Weekend, First This Year." The news was that a whole weekend had gone by without one homicide, and that was the big story.

Since 1974, there has been a 400-percent increase in serious assaults—that is, life-threatening assaults with knives and guns—in Chicago. That 1974 figure is significant in at least two ways. First, 1974 was the previous high-water mark for homicide in our country—in many respects, a kind of ripple effect from the Vietnam war, the fact that the war turned loose in American society a lot of aggression and violence.

But the other thing to bear in mind is that the figure for 1990, which matches the 1974 figure, would be much higher were it not for the improvements in medical trauma technology. Many victims of serious assault who would have died in 1974 now survive because of the same improved medical trauma technology that came out of the Vietnam war and was associated with the very low fatality rates for those injured in the Gulf war.

The violence that kids are experiencing in the inner-city war zones has many similarities to the war zones around the world. It is social violence, community violence, in the sense that it comes from being in a particular place. It is not interpersonal in many respects, and that is true of war zones around the world.

Many environments in our own society have come to resemble what I found in refugee camps around the world. For example, in comparing refugee camps in Thailand—the Khmer-Cambodian refugee camps—with life in some American housing projects, there is a series of very dramatic parallels. One certainly is that many mothers are seriously depressed. Within the space of a few months, a study in a Cambodian refugee camp and a study in an American housing project revealed that about 50 percent of the mothers were seriously depressed. They are depressed because the men in their lives are often marginal and aggressive and violent and unsupportive. They are depressed because of poverty. They are depressed because of the lack of future that they see for them and their children, and they are depressed because they live in a constant atmos-

phere of terror and fear. This depression translates in both settings into widespread neglect of children.

I think the bottom line is to ask, "What will happen when a generation of young children who have been traumatized and terrorized in their early years comes into adolescence?" We must ask this question because we know that adolescence kind of precipitates or crystallizes the childhood experience.

These children are growing up with diminished expectations for the future. This is one of the clear consequences of trauma, diminished expectations. One observer calls it "terminally-ill thinking." Another consequence is the dramatic need to look for someone or some belief system that will make sense of their experience. Gangs offer that. They offer a child the opportunity to feel safer, no matter what the cost, and the cost in this case may be giving up any aspirations to a prosocial identity and the willingness to buy into a system of vendetta morality in which aggression and revenge and loyalty to one's peers become the dominant motif.

In talking with young people in some inner-city environments who are soldiers in these gangs, what one recalls is the sense of cynicism and despair that some American soldiers felt in Vietnam at the lowest point in that war, when their only concern was loyalty to their buddies—to do whatever it took to survive. Childhood trauma creates a kind of psychological vulnerability that inner-city environments prey upon.

In recent years there have been several proposed strategies for dealing with this. Last year, the Congress passed the Head Start Reauthorization Act which included a mandate for "violence counseling" as part of Head Start programs. A lot of people aren't willing to face the fact that young children must be allowed to cope with these issues.

In many inner-city schools in Chicago and other places, teachers no longer have "show-and-tell" in kindergarten and first grade because they are afraid of what the children will tell them if they allow them to talk openly about their experience. I think the need to organize the curriculum in elementary schools to help children and adults deal with trauma is a high priority.

Certainly, there is a need to go even beyond that for the kind of coordinated approach which others have urged. I think we might think in terms of something analogous to the UN peace-keeping forces, which have a joint mission of providing some central law and order in neighborhoods which are out of control of the prosocial elements and couple that with rehabilitation and healing for young children, as well as job development and social development skills for older kids.

I think we need some symbolic statements as well. As I think you know, the United States is one of the last nations that has refused to sign on and ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The UN Convention in at least two articles speaks directly to these issues, guaranteeing children a right to safety and positive identify, and guaranteeing rehabilitation for victims of violence and abuse. I think it is symptomatic of our inability to address these issues that we continue to refuse to be one of the signatories, one of the ratifiers, of the UN Convention, and that act alone would serve as an important signal because it would provide some

basis for comparing and contrasting our treatment of children in war in America with our willingness to help children in war in other areas.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Garbarino follows:]

Testimony of

James Garbarino, PhD
President
Erikson Institute for Advanced Study in Child Development

Mr. Chairman, my name is James Garbarino. I am President of the Erikson Institute for Advanced Study in Child Development in Chicago, Illinois. For the past five years I have been studying the effects on children and youth of living in situations of chronic community violence. These studies have included war zones around the world and neighborhoods in American cities plagued by crime and gangs.

My international work has included visits to Cambodia, Nicaragua, Mozambique and the Middle East. In late February of this year I was asked by UNICEF to visit Kuwait to conduct an assessment of the impact of the Gulf War on children there. I arrived in Kuwait and interviewed children the day after the Iraqi forces left the city. In December, I will undertake a similar mission to Iraq on behalf of UNICEF.

The results of this work are contained in our recently published book NO PLACE TO BE A CHILD: GROWING UP IN A WAR ZONE (J. Garbarino, K. Kostelny, and N. Dubrow. Lexington-MacMillan, New York, 1991), and a book due for publication next Spring entitled, CHILDREN IN DANGER: COPING WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNITY VIOLENCE (J. Garbarino, N. Dubrow, K. Kostelny and C. Pardo. Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, 1992). Copies of NO PLACE TO BE A CHILD have been made available to the entire Senate through the good offices of Senator Simon. We will do the same with CHILDREN IN DANGER: COPING WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNITY VIOLENCE when it is published in May of 1992.

I have come here today to share my views on the similarities and differences between the experience of children in foreign war zones and in the war zones of American inner city neighborhoods.

Hundreds of thousands of American children face the challenge of living with chronic community violence. Since 1974, the rate of serious assault (potentially lethal assaults with knives and guns) has increased 400% in Chicago (and other major metropolitan areas reveal similar patterns). In Erikson Institute's interviews with families living in public housing projects in Chicago we learned that virtually all the children had first-hand experiences with shooting by the time they were five years old. Other surveys have revealed that 30% of the kids living in high crime neighborhoods of the city have witnessed a homicide by the time they are fifteen years old, and more than 70% have witnessed a serious assault. These figures are much more like the experience of kids in the war zones I have visited in other countries than they are of what we should expect for our own children, living in "peace."

These experiences create enormous challenges for young children and the people who care for them. Many of the affected children already face serious developmental risks

due to poverty, family instability, drugs, and domestic violence. For them, the trauma of community violence is often literally "the straw that breaks the camel's back."

Many inner city children are experiencing the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, symptoms which include sleep disturbances, day dreaming, recreating trauma in play, extreme startle responses, diminished expectations for the future, and even biochemical changes in their brains. This trauma can produce significant psychological problems that interfere with learning and appropriate social behavior in school and that interfere with normal parent-child relationships. It can also make them prime candidates for involvement in gangs, where the violent economy of the illicit drug trade offers a sense of belonging and solidarity as well as cash income for kids who have few pro-social alternatives for either.

Based upon my work in the field and my understanding of the research and clinical experience of my colleagues, I have reached the conclusion that there are many similarities between the experiences of children growing up in war zones around the world and American children growing up amidst chronic community violence. These similarities hit home for me particularly in comparing the situation of children in the Khmer refugee camps I visited in Thailand and the public housing projects of Chicago.

* In both the camps and the projects, there is a proliferation of weapons -- a kind of "arms race"-- which exacerbates the effects of conflict and violence. It is common for young people -- particularly males -- to be heavily armed and to be engaged in armed attacks and reprisals. Substantial numbers of "bystander" injuries are observed.

* In both the camps and the projects, representatives of "mainstream" society have only partial control over what happens. The international relief workers leave the Khmer camps at the end of the working day, and so do the social workers and educators in the public housing projects. Both the camps and the projects are under the control of the local gangs at night. Therefore, no action during the day can succeed unless it is acceptable to the gangs that rule the community at night. For example, there have been cases in public housing projects in Chicago in which local gangs have established curfews on their own initiative and in which gangs make the decision about whether or not someone who commits a crime against residents will be identified and punished.

* In both the camps and the projects, women -- particularly mothers -- are in a desperate situation. They are under enormous stress, often are the target of domestic violence, and have few economic or educational resources and prospects. Men play a marginal role in the enduring life of families -- being absent for reasons that include participating in the fighting, fleeing to escape enemies, being injured or killed, and (particularly in the case of the American public housing project), being imprisoned. Largely as a result, there is a major problem of maternal depression. Studies in both settings have reported 50% of the women being seriously depressed.

* In both the camps and the projects, one consequence of maternal depression is neglect of children. This connection is well established in research. This neglect leads to elevated levels of "accidental injuries" to children.

* In both the camps and the projects, children and youth have diminished prospects for the future. This lack of a positive future orientation produces depression, rage, and disregard for human life -- their own and others.

* In both the camps and the projects, housing was initially designed as transitional housing. The Khmer refugees were to be resettled in other communities, just as residents of American public housing projects were to move on to other housing once they made sufficient economic progress. This was the experience of me and my family living in public housing in New York in the early 1950's. But in the American and the Khmer situation this changed. The camps and the housing projects became dead ends rather than transitional situations for most families.

Now, it appears things are changing for the Khmer. The recent signing of a peace accord has meant that repatriation will come, that the Khmer will return to Cambodia and take up a more genuine community life. However, without some comparable national effort to achieve reconciliation, social justice, and a major peacekeeping force in our cities, most of the families in America's urban war zones will remain there, and another generation of children will experience the trauma of chronic community violence. Therein lies one major <u>difference</u> for children living in the Kmer refugee camps and children living in Chicago public housing projects. In war zones, there is hope of peace, repatriation, and the renewal of community life. In public housing, the war never ends.

Our efforts to understand the impact of chronic community violence on children and youth around the world and in our own cities highlights several concerns -- unmet medical needs, the corrosive effects of the co-experiencing of poverty and violence on personality and on academic achievement, etc. <u>But from my perspective, the most important of these is that the experience of trauma distorts the values of kids</u>. Unless we reach them with healing experiences and offer them a moral and political framework within which to process their experiences <u>traumatized kids</u> are likely to be drawn to groups and ideologies that legitimatize and reward their rage, their fear, and their hateful cynicism.

Recall that Machiavelli wrote his cynical political tract THE PRINCE soon after being imprisoned and abused by the government of his city. Traumatic experiences create a fertile field for nasty political and religious beliefs and organizations. The personal history of terrorists, religious fanatics, and authoritarian bigots often reveals a similar pattern that combines traumatic experiences of violence coupled with social exploitation and oppression. The racism and poverty that surround the American kids who are most likely to experience chronic community violence is a dangerous social and psychological cauldron. I fervently hope we will make it a very high domestic priority to deal

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with this threat to the well being of our children, our families and our communities.

We need to go beyond approaches that are either simply law enforcement or social services. We need a "peacekeeping" model along the lines of the United Nations efforts in foreign war zones. Such an approach incorporates elements of law enforcement -- to provide immediate physical security -- with social intervention programs that rebuild community institutions, heal victims of violence and trauma, and support non-violent conflict resolution.

As the end of the Cold War internationally frees us to reallocate our resources domestically, the funds for this effort can and should come as a peace dividend for our nation's children.

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much, Dr. Garbarino.

We have Senator DeConcini here this morning. Would you like to make a statement?

Senator DECONCINI. Well, Mr. Chairman, I will go ahead and let this panel go, and then I do have a statement, but thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KOHL. Gentlemen, we are here at the Federal level to talk about this problem, and you people are knowledgeable experts. What is it that the Federal Government, we here in the Senate as we write our laws and decide how we are going to spend our money, your money, taxpayer money—what is it that we should be doing? What do you recommend that we do to combat the problems of gangs and violence in your communities and communities across the country? Mr. Odom?

Mr. ODOM. One of the things that I would like to share in answering that question is that last Friday, we had a youth conference with rival gangs and different organizations coming together. We had over 400 people show up at this conference on Friday, and during the course of it, as the gang members were sitting on this panel, this one woman looked and asked, "Will you rob me when we leave here, will you break into my house, will you attack me?" And they all looked at her and not one of them answered, flinched, or blinked.

What I realized was that we can't scare these children anymore, we can't intimidate them anymore, and we can't touch them with words anymore. What we have to do is put our money where our mouth is, and we have to show them that we love them and that they are valuable to us, and that we really need them to be part of the society and America's future.

So when you go back, I guess I can talk about programs and those kinds of specific things, but we need to find a way to demonstrate to young people that they are valuable to America and America will invest in them and that they are the best that we have, because right now nothing matters to them anymore. Death is an escape. Prison is not intimidating because everybody is already there.

It is like a couple that I was just meeting with last week who were talking to this young gang person, a woman, on death row in

Texas, and they asked her about her experience being there on death row and she said, "This is the best place I have ever been in my life."

So if we don't change what is happening to our children dramatically and if we don't make a visible show, one that just cannot be denied by them, they have to face the truth that we have shown them that we really care. So I can talk about specific programs. I can talk about "Teaching Children to Be Children Centers" because that is one of the things that we have to do. Children no longer know how to be children. They stop being children very, very early in the ghettos of our country—3, 4 years old, maximum; 5 years old, you are babysitting; you have responsibility. You are getting explanations for things that you have no way of comprehending.

So we have to, once again, teach children to be children. There are no jump ropes, there are no dolls, there are no marbles, there are no skateboards, there is nothing. At some point, I would like to go into a little bit more detail about my concept about teaching children to be children again, but we need to do that here in the United States. We need to go into the inner city and teach children how to be children.

Senator KOHL. Dr. Garbarino, what would you suggest we do at the Federal level with respect to our responsibility in this fight?

Mr. GARBARINO. Well, I think at the Federal level, recognizing that most of the day-to-day work is going to happen by city and State and county governments, what we can expect from the Federal Government is some leadership that helps provide a more positive context for people to go ahead, and I mean leadership in both a very general and specific way.

There is a real growing sense that we have as a nation written off 20 percent of the population, written off to the point where people can openly talk about these people as if they were garbage. Someone here in Washington, a professional, recently was telling me that in a meeting with some interns—physicians—she posed a question to them. She said:

> Suppose you were working in the emergency room and a young man was brought in, a young black man, with a bullet wound, and you found on his record that he had been wounded before, was a member of a gang, and was probably an intravenous drug user and there was a good chance he was HIV-positive. What would you do?

And she said several people suggested they put him in a closet and wait until he dies, and there was no outrage in the group about this. I think there is a sense that from the top of the government on down, there is a kind of willingness to write off this population.

A few years ago another congressional body was considering a hearing on a related issue. Initially there was a lot of interest, but when it became clear that most of the violence was black-on-black violence, when it was kept within these neighborhoods, interest diminished dramatically. When there was a sense that this could be confined to those parts of our country that we have written off, it was OK.

I think more specifically there is a need for leadership on things like disarmament in these city areas. You know that very recently

we had what to the rest of the world seemed like an incredible paradox. One day in a week, a man drove into a restaurant and massacred a group of people with an automatic weapon that has no justification—except for massacres. The next day we allowed legislation to fail that would have limited such weapons. I think that makes a mockery of our national commitment to really do something about disarmament in the cities.

Clearly, removing the weapons would cut down on the carnage. It is very difficult to murder more than one person with a knife. It is very difficult to beat 20 people to death with your fists. So we enable this kind of conflict and violence to become more dangerous both domestically and internationally.

In the early decades of this century most of the casualties in wars were soldiers. In contemporary wars, most of the casualties—according to United Nations figures—are civilians, and one reason is the nature of the weaponry, the use of indiscriminate weapons that allow large numbers of people to be killed without even being targeted. There is an analogy, I think, in inner-city areas. There is no place for these automatic weapons in American life, and yet there are strong forces that argue for them.

Another specific area of leadership would be to do a lot more in prompting and supporting people to work with young children who are traumatized by violence. As was pointed out by Mr. Odom, there was a time, and there still is a time in many areas where people join gangs with what might be called normal psychological motives. It serves a social function, it serves a kind of rational function for them.

But it is very different when people join gangs with unmet and very strong and perhaps distorted psychological needs. They are much more like people who join terrorist organizations in other countries because their own experience with terror and brutality creates a tremendous unmet psychic need for something, and the gang—and in other countries a terrorist organization—offers that something. They say, "We will give you revenge; we will make you feel safe, we will give you something to do."

It is very destructive, but here again it is partly a matter of leadership, working with children early in life, supporting professional training programs for young children that are willing to face these issues.

Senator KOHL. Gentlemen, some of my colleagues take the approach that even nonviolent, first-time young offenders should receive certain punishment and shock treatments, like weekend incarceration or boot camps. Do you hold the same opinion with respect to these first offenders who are nonviolent?

Mr. ODOM. What happens is when everybody has gone to boot camp, that is all it is; it is boot camp. It is something that you come back from and you talk about, and you have been through the experience and everybody else compares notes. It is not a deterrent. It is a happening, it is a process of living within this environment.

It is just like when I was growing up in Brooklyn, we were drafted into the gangs. Just like the military had a draft, the gangs had a draft, and when you were called, you went. Well, in the gangs, you went through initiations and everything else. Well, it is the

same thing. If you go through boot camp, that just becomes part of the initiation of being part of the gang.

What has happened is there is no punishment that is going to deter young people from gangs. These children can adapt to whatever punishment we can dole out because the greatest punishment to them is day-to-day life, and we can't come up with anything more hideous than what they are already living. So it is not going to work.

What we need to do is love them. That is what is missing. We need to provide them with the best that America has to offer. We have to show them something better. We can't show them anything worse. It is like I was riding on the plane and I was thinking about looking at these young people and the hopelessness that I see, and I know this word "hope" and "hopelessness" has been used all over the place, but I don't know of a worse word than hopelessness.

I thought about prison. That is not worse than hopelessness. AIDS is not worse then hopelessness because people with AIDS have hope until the minute of death. War is not worse than hopelessness. Hell is not worse than hopelessness, nor is death. So we can't inflict anything worse than this hopelessness that they are already living. The only thing that we can use to combat that is love. So if we can send them to a boot camp that will love them back and just smother them with that, then that is fine—show them a better side.

It is just like I took a young man one day to a juvenile facility and I walked him around there as a deterrent, and on the way back in the car I said, "If you don't get your life together, that is where you are going to end up." And he said: "What do I have to do to get in there?"

Senator KOHL. Dr. Garbarino?

Mr. GARBARINO. Let me complement those remarks. You know, there is extensive research on group process with young people, and one of the findings is that ordinarily the composition of the group has a lot to do with the outcome. If you compose a group that is primarily composed of "prosocial" kids and you put into that group a couple of kids who are "antisocial" in orientation, the prosocial kids will tend to influence them and produce more prosocial behavior and orientation. They will resocialize them.

But if you upset the balance in the other direction and have primarily a group of people who have an antisocial function and only a few prosocial kids, the antisocial forces will change the prosocial forces. So simply putting people in groups and giving them a group experience won't do it. There is an important element in who they are and what the connection between that group experience and their future is. Is it really a transition to something positive or simply an interlude?

We know that prison tends to produce more prisoners, not less. Thirty percent of all the young black men in Chicago go to prison at least once during a year at any one time. It obviously is not producing less crime. In war zones, kids who are rehabilitated are rehabilitated partly because there is a social definition to what they are doing. There is a prospect of peace; there is a sense that the war could end and then something different will happen.

In most of our cities, as Mr. Odom was saying, hopelessness comes partly from the fact that this is not an event in their life, but it is the condition of their life, and there is little prospect of peace coming to those areas. When I interviewed children and youth in Kuwait at the end of the Gulf war, the thing they had going for them was the sense that the war was now over and there were things they could do to build a peace there. One doesn't find that sense very much in inner cities.

I think also there is a need to not simply send these kids away and then bring them back, because we know from research that the most important influence on any treatment program's long-term success is how congruent, how similar, the posttreatment environment is. So if the goals of the treatment program are not sustained outside the program back in the community, the child simply readjusts to what was there before.

Some of you will remember the Scared Straight Program, which had tremendous appeal 10 to 30 years ago. The idea was that we could send a bunch of young delinquents to spend a day in a prison with hardened criminals, and the criminals would tell them it was a real drag to be in prison and they would be raped and beaten if they came to prison. The thinking at the time was, "Gee, that is terrific; it will solve the whole juvenile delinquency problem!"

Of course, when people did the serious research and looked into it, they found that it didn't change those kids in a positive direction. If anything, the kids went away saying, "Hey, these guys are pretty tough, I would like to be like them."

So there are no simple, one-shot fixes for any of this. It really involves healing the children early and changing the nature of their world, and I don't think that is going to happen simply with social services or simply with law enforcement. It is going to require something much more comprehensive that really makes people believe that they are safe enough to change their behavior, and they don't believe that now.

Senator KOHL. I will next turn to Senator Simon, but before I do I have a quick question: What is your definition of hopelessness? It means the absence of what, gentlemen, the feeling that they can have a productive, happy, useful life? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. GARBARINO. I think it means the lack of a sense that there are things that they can do that connect them to a positive future.

Senator KOHL. OK.

Mr. GARBARINO. When my father's family came from Italy, they were hopeful in the sense that although they were living in poverty on the lower east side of Manhattan, there was a path for them that would result in a better life, the life that I lead. It is that lack of seeing a path to the future that I think is fundamental to hopelessness.

Mr. ODOM. One of the things—when I was growing up, I was always asked in school, what do you want to be when you grow up, and I would tell them I didn't know. And then the teachers would harass me because I was supposed to know. If I was in school, I was supposed to have some idea what I was going to be when I grew up. So, finally, I got smart enough to answer that question. When they said, what do you want to be when you grow up, I said a pilot. Then they started telling me why I couldn't be a pilot. [Laughter.]

But one of the things I found out as a I got older was that one of the reasons why I didn't know what I wanted to be is because I hadn't seen it, and everything that I had seen I wasn't interested in doing. But I was fortunate enough to have parents that exposed me to the things that this country had outside of Bedford Stuyvesant.

These children—what they see does not give them any hope for any future. Their parents don't show them that, their grandparents don't show them that, their community doesn't show them that, society doesn't show them that. So hopelessness means that tomorrow is not going to be any better than what today is, period.

Senator KOHL. Senator Simon.

Senator SIMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and we thank both of you for your eloquent testimony. Let me just say first of all, Dr. Garbarino, that I agree with you completely on the weapons issue. My colleague to my right, Senator DeConcini, has been the principal sponsor of legislation in the Senate to outlaw certain weapons in our society. Unfortunately, we haven't been able to get that passed in the House, but it is one of the steps that I hope one of these days we will take.

Mr. Odom's statements about needing to love and to reach out are just basic, and anything we do is helpful, but unless we recognize we have an underclass problem and unless we reach out with jobs for people and decent housing and quality schools and other things, all the other programs aren't going to do that much good.

But talking about other programs, back in 1988 Senator Bradley and I introduced legislation on youth gang prevention, and we have had modest funding for that, about $15 million a year. I notice in your testimony you say, "We began a special demonstration project funded by the Federal Department of Health and Human Services," which is the program I refer to, "to work with the younger siblings of Hispanic gang members so they do not join gangs." Have you had enough experience with this yet to know that it is doing any good?

Dr. Garbarino, we have four programs in Chicago that have been funded under this gang prevention program—Youth Guidance, Bryn Mawr Elementary, Chicago Commons, and the Youth Service Project. Do either of you know, are these things doing any good or are we just whistling in the dark on this?

Mr. ODOM. No, you are not whistling in the dark. We ran a pilot program with that this summer. Our goal was to have 40 children in the program. Within the first 3 days, we had close to 100, and what we found was that the gang members were bringing their younger brothers and sisters to the program. They wanted them to be involved in something positive. They wanted them to be around culturally sensitive people who understood what it was all about to try and steer them away from where they were.

So the greatest recruiting tool that we had was the gang members bringing their younger brothers and sisters. So, was it successful? Absolutely. Do we need to continue it? We need to expand on it. I think we have hit on something there. So, yes. Is it working? Absolutely.

Senator SIMON. Dr. Garbarino?

Mr. GARBARINO. Yes. I think I would echo that. Certainly, children are looking around and "choosing sides" in the sense that they are asking what are the alternatives I have, and if we can provide safe places for them that are persuasively safe, it gives them something to choose which is positive. Some of these gang prevention and diversion programs offer that.

And I would say, too, in Chicago there are numerous examples of adolescents, young men, who have been through the gang experience who see no way out for themselves, but also would offer that same advice to younger kids. So I think the idea of preventing some of the movement into gangs by offering alternatives that these programs offer does make some sense.

I don't think it can do the whole job because there are social forces at work that overwhelm those individual choices, and if you add to that the fact that there is growing evidence that children who are traumatized before age 8 may actually suffer neurological changes— neurochemical changes in their brain that make them more prone to startle, reduce their concentration abilities, make it very difficult to succeed in school—there is another link here that the schools are dealing with larger numbers of kids who find it very difficult to be good students.

Failure in school is one of the things that drives them toward the gangs because you don't need a degree to be a gang member. So there is a very complex connection here between the social conditions which produce psychological conditions in the children, and these programs can address that, but I don't think they can do the whole job.

Senator SIMON. In that connection, I have introduced legislation—Senator Kohl and Senator Bradley are cosponsors—that would expand this youth prevention program into the elementary schools; again, $10 million, in a huge nation like ours is not very much money, but your assessment, then, is that we ought to move ahead on this kind of program?

Mr. ODOM. Absolutely.

Mr. GARBARINO. Yes. You know, we have seen in the academic development area that, for example, by first grade you can predict 90 percent of the kids who will fail in seventh grade because you can see already they are not going to learn to read, that they don't have the attitudes and the approach to school that will make for success. I think the same thing is true here, that if we wait until adolescence it is much more costly, less efficient, less effective, than if we start earlier to reroute the development of these children.

Senator SIMON. Dr. Garbarino, you mentioned you are going to be going to Iraq shortly. In visiting that devastated country, you are going to see, as I understand it from what I have been reading, a lot of children suffering a great deal. What will that do—and I am asking you to make assumptions before you get there, but what will that do for the future of Iraq?

Mr. GARBARINO. Well, I think the preliminary data from a survey conducted earlier this fall indicated enormous numbers, probably higher rates of hopelessness among kids in a couple of areas, in Bassra and in the area immediately surrounding that underground shelter which was destroyed in the bombing—higher

levels of this kind of hopelessness, the sense of no future, than have been observed in virtually any other environment.

I think the great danger is that you have enormous numbers of traumatized kids. You have tremendous risk factors of poverty, and you have a real political problem which can prevent their rehabilitation. I think one of the keys to rehabilitating traumatized children is that their schools, their churches, their families can engage in a kind of dialog, a processing of their experience which allows them to give meaning to it.

In an open society, that dialog can allow kids to see the other point of view, to develop empathy, to understand why these things happen, to see their own role. In a closed society, it can be kind of harvested as the basis for really intransigent, kind of authoritarian, very negative, revenge-oriented thinking.

My great concern in Iraq, of course, would be that being a very politically closed society that this trauma will be harnessed in the direction of revenge, which will produce a generation of really fanatic, anti-Western feeling, a tremendous foundation for even more authoritarian politics there, and we have seen that in some other countries.

Senator SIMON. Then—if you make the parallel from Iraq back here, what conclusions do you draw?

Mr. GARBARINO. Well, I think we can see that kids who have been traumatized here will have to develop a belief in something, and it could be a very cynical, very nasty something. I am sure a lot of you are familiar with Machiavelli's book "The Prince," a very cynical look at politics where power and ruthlessness are the only currency. It is important to remember that Machiavelli wrote that book within a year after being released from prison, where he was tortured and abused. It was a way of channeling his rage at the society that had treated him that way into an ideology.

I think we could expect more and more the inner-city politics, such as they are, to be even more ruthless, less governed by what we would think of as kind of mainstream values of fairness, of some higher purpose. And we hear this from the testimony of mothers, who say that gang members often don't care if there are innocent bystanders in the way. It is this lack of caring, the sense that there are no rules. There are no civilians: a lot of the kids being shot are in these kind of bystander shootings or kids who are being shot because a gang member is told it is an initiation right, "You have to shoot someone to be part of the group." It is, to my mind, a very cynical orientation, and I think we will see more and more of that both over there and here.

Mr. ODOM. I just wanted to add one point that years ago, and I guess even today, there was a painter named Keane and he used to paint the pictures of the children with the big eyes, the big bright eyes. If you walk through the inner city today and you look into the eyes of these children, there is no fire in there; there is no sparkle. It is just a dull appearance, where children before—the twinkle and the dancing of the eyes, and the excitement of life that came from that is not there. So when you talk about the hopelessness, even in the face and in the eyes of very, very little children, there is not that spark and that life. It is not there anymore.

Mr. GARBARINO. If I could quickly add one thing. This is the same boy who produced the drawing that I showed you before. We have shown him a series of what are called the TAT projective tests, a series of ambiguous pictures. Children are asked to tell stories about. Let me just show you the stories he tells about these pictures.

The first is a picture of a boy sitting at a table; in front of him is a violin. You might think what story your own children would have made up about that picture. This boy says he is thinking about his family, how they struggle for him. He feels kind of sad. He is probably poor; it makes him feel sad.

The second picture is a woman holding another person near a set of stairs. He says, without hesitation, her daughter died, being shot in the streets. Her mother is holding her until the ambulance comes. She is crying. She was on her way home from school and a couple of friends came up to her and killed her for her being in the gang. If you want to be in a gang, you have to kill somebody.

The third picture is a woman standing with her hand over her eyes, leaning against a door. This 12-year-old boy says she is crying because her child ran away from home and she is scared that something might happen to her. She feels very lonely; it makes her sad.

Another picture of a man, in silhouette, sitting in a window; he is mad because his wife ran out on him. And, last, perhaps most tellingly, a little boy sitting in a doorway in a run-down building. He says the little boy is sad because his parents left him. He is all alone with nobody to support him. He doesn't have the education.

There is a pervasive sense of sadness and hopelessness, I think, about this child's stories which are in response to pictures that other kids would have all kinds of interesting and positive and fascinating stories to tell.

Senator SIMON. We thank you both for your testimony and for what you are doing. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Senator Simon.

Senator DECONCINI.

Senator DECONCINI. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for holding these hearings. I can't think of anything more important facing our Nation and probably more neglected than our neighborhoods and what is happening to them.

I want to ask that my full opening statement be placed in the record, if I can.

Senator KOHL. Without objection.

[The prepared statement of Senator DeConcini follows:]

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DENNIS DeCONCINI
SENATE JUVENILE JUSTICE SUBCOMMITTEE
HEARING ON YOUTH VIOLENCE AND GANGS

MR. CHAIRMAN, THANK YOU FOR AFFORDING ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO ATTEND THIS VERY IMPORTANT HEARING ON YOUTH GANGS. LIKE YOU, I HAVE A VERY STRONG INTEREST IN THIS AREA.

DURING THE PAST YEAR, MR. CHAIRMAN, MY HOME STATE OF ARIZONA HAS EXPERIENCED FIRST HAND THE VIOLENCE ASSOCIATED WITH THE PROLIFERATION OF YOUTH STREET GANGS IN THIS COUNTRY. GANGS ARE RAPIDLY SPREADING TO NEW COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. WHILE LOS ANGELES AND NEW YORK HAVE LONG STRUGGLED TO CONTROL THE EFFECTS OF GANG RELATED CRIME, GANGS ARE BY NO MEANS CONFINED TO THESE AREAS. STEVE HIGGINS, DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS TESTIFIED IN HEARINGS BEFORE MY APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE THAT AS RIVAL GANGS STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF LIMITED TURF, THEY SEEK TO EXPAND THEIR POWER BASE, AND FINANCIAL INFLUENCE ELSEWHERE.

THIS SUMMER, I WENT INTO THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF PHOENIX, ARIZONA WHERE RESIDENTS ARE TRYING TO COPE WITH THE AFFECTS OF INCREASING GANG-RELATED CRIME AND VIOLENCE. I TALKED AND VISITED WITH FAMILIES, MANY OF THEM SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION RESIDENTS, WHO SPOKE OF BEING AFRAID TO WALK TO THE END OF THE BLOCK TO RETRIEVE THEIR MAIL OR TO GO TO THE STORE FOR GROCERIES FOR FEAR OF GANGS.

FOR THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THESE AREAS, THE SOUND OF GUN SHOTS FIRED IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT PUNCTUATES THE FACT THAT THEIR HOMES AND THEIR CHILDREN ARE NO LONGER SAFE. THE DANGER POSED TO INNOCENT FAMILIES LIVING IN THESE NEIGHBORHOODS FROM THE GANG THAT WANTS TO SETTLE A SCORE OR CLAIM TURF SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. A RECENT SURVEY ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON CHILDREN INDICATED THAT AN ASTONISHING 60% OF HISPANIC PARENTS WITH CHILDREN UNDER AGE 17 WORRIED "A LOT" THAT THEIR CHILD WOULD GET SHOT. IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH INCOMES UNDER

$10,000, 29% OF THE PARENTS SURVEYED SHARED THAT SAME CONCERN. DRIVE-BY SHOOTINGS IN THE PHOENIX AREA ARE ON THE RISE. WHAT IS REALLY TROUBLING IS THAT LAW ENFORCEMENT REPORTS SUGGEST THAT SOME OF THESE CRIMES MAY NOT EVEN BE COMMITTED DUE TO STRAY SHOTS BETWEEN RIVAL GANGS BUT MAY BE COMMITTED FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN FOR SOME GANG MEMBER TO HAVE "FUN".

THIS PROBLEM IS NOT LIMITED TO MINORITIES AND LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLDS, MR. CHAIRMAN. ACCORDING TO A SURVEY CONDUCTED BY THE ARIZONA CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMMISSION, THERE IS A GROWING INFLUENCE OF GANG MEMBERS AMONG ARIZONA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. OVER HALF OF THE STUDENTS SURVEYED IN ARIZONA HIGH SCHOOLS--53%--REPORTED AN AWARENESS OF GANGS IN THEIR SCHOOLS. BASED ON THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN JOINING A GANG, THERE ARE 11,000 POTENTIAL GANG MEMBERS IN ARIZONA HIGH SCHOOLS. THESE ARE ALARMING STATISTICS, MR. CHAIRMAN.

AS WE HAVE SEEN IN OUR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO FIGHT THE WAR ON DRUGS, RESULTS CAN BE ACHIEVED, IF WE ARE WILLING TO DEVOTE THE ATTENTION AND RESOURCES TO THE PROBLEM. BEFORE WE CAN RECLAIM OUR STREETS, OUR NEIGHBORHOODS AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, OUR CHILDREN, FROM THE DEVASTATING INFLUENCE OF GANGS WE HAVE GOT TO DEVELOP STRATEGIES THAT WORK AND DEVOTE ADDITIONAL RESOURCES TO THEIR IMPLEMENTATION.

MR. CHAIRMAN, WHEN YOU TALK TO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ABOUT GANGS, THEY TELL YOU THAT LAW ENFORCEMENT ALONE CANNOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM. THEY RECOMMEND MORE EFFORT AND FUNDING IN THE AREA OF PREVENTION, EDUCATION, AND AID TO FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS. FOLLOWING MY VISIT WITH ARIZONA LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS IN ARIZONA EARLIER THIS YEAR, I FUNDED AN $800,000 DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM THROUGH THE BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND FIREARMS, CALLED "PROJECT OUTREACH". THIS PROJECT, BEING OVERSEEN BY FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT, WILL BRING TOGETHER THE EXPERTISE AND TOOLS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT WITH THOSE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND PREVENTION SPECIALISTS IN THE PHOENIX AREA TO FORMULATE A PROGRAM TO DETER YOUTH GANG MEMBERSHIP. IF THIS

PILOT PROJECT IS SUCCESSFUL, I HOPE TO EXPAND IT TO OTHER COMMUNITIES IN ARIZONA AND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY BECAUSE I THINK WE HAVE GOT TO BE INNOVATIVE IN OUR APPROACH TO GANG PREVENTION.

MR. CHAIRMAN, ONCE AGAIN, I COMMEND YOU FOR TAKING THE INITIATIVE TO HOLD HEARINGS ON GANGS. I HOPE THE WITNESSES CAN SHED SOME LIGHT ON WHAT TYPES OF STRATEGIES ARE BEING USED TO COMBAT CRIME AMONG OUR YOUNG PEOPLE AND GIVE US SOME RECOMMENDATIONS ON WHAT MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE.

Senator DECONCINI. Arizona is being savaged by gangs, something that we thought was limited to the poor areas of our big cities. Now it is in smaller communities of the Valley; Paradise Valley, and the Mesa and Apache Junction areas that just had not previously witnessed gang activities. We have gangs roaming around these areas. Some of them are gangs that exist to protect territory, according to hearings and the police reports, and the violence only erupts if another gang comes into that territory for the most part. Some are involved in drugs, and involved in gangs in Los Angeles and other large communities with well-known, organized gangs.

My observation—and I would just like a comment on it—is that our neighborhoods have just fallen apart. From visiting south Phoenix and staying there 20-some hours, living in someone's home, listening to the gun shots at night, talking to the people who are afraid to talk to the police because if they get fingered they are afraid they will get hurt—and I made some comments, I remember so well, about how Arizona doesn't have the social conscience to commit the necessary resources to the problem. The Governor and one of the newspapers took me to task for my remarks, saying, "Oh, we have got a lot of people with a lot of conscience." But, in fact, Arizona spends very little money on social programs. Since then, to his credit, the Governor has gone to that same neighborhood, stayed there overnight, and committed $1 million to a neighborhood gang project.

My point is that you talk about love for these children, which, as the Senator from Illinois says, is really fundamental, and I think we know that. But how can we ever get love to children when their parents or their guardians are faced with such a violent environment in our city neighborhoods today? Don't we really have the problem of poor infrastructure, such as decent schools, streets, lighting, police control, neighborhood watch groups. There is a program in South Phoenix called New Turf, which involves the community and the police, and brings the students there after school, and it works.

I don't discredit the importance of love, but it seems to me that we need to get to the neighborhood structural problems, because in my State they are bad. Neighborhoods have substandard housing, they have no lights, they have no sidewalks, they have no playgrounds, they have nothing. Can we really turn toward loving one

another and getting back into the humanitarian feelings and establishing a quality of life that we don't see anymore today?

Mr. ODOM. I just wanted to clarify one point. To me, love is not a feeling, but love is a commitment. So when I speak of love—and you talk about the infrastructure—growing up, again, in Bedford Stuyvesant, I was blessed to have a YMCA right across the street from where I lived, so I had an opportunity to learn how to swim when I was 7 years old and compete in swimming. I learned gymnastics, I learned all those other things. I was in the Cub Scouts and the Boy Scouts, and I had to endure piano lessons and all those things.

And what happens is, I think, every child in the ghetto should have to endure piano lessons, and I think that they all need to learn how to swim, to develop that confidence and be able to achieve. They need to have a safe haven, which, for me, was the YMCA, and which for them could be this "Teaching Children to Be Children Center." We had the planetarium where we could sit back and look at the stars and gaze and let our minds go beyond what our environments were. We don't have those things today for our children. There is no escape from the day-to-day realities are.

Of course, our schools need help. I mean, we are burning out teachers because of what they have to deal with within the classroom. They are not equipped to deal with the children that they face every day. We just adopted an elementary school 1 year ago; in fact, I was there the other day and I felt so sad for the teachers. Yesterday morning, I had my secretary deliver a box of candy to the whole faculty, including the janitor and the secretary and everybody else, just to say somebody cares and knows that you have a tremendous task ahead of you.

So when I talk about the love, there needs to be an environment in which children can get away from what it is that they face every day, and they can be in an environment where they know that even the gangs today will declare off limits in certain territories where their brothers and sisters are participating in those kinds of things.

So, as I said, when I say love, I don't——

Senator DECONCINI. When you are talking about love, you are talking about the environment of love and the family relationship and the necessity for some structure there.

Mr. ODOM. Exactly.

Senator DECONCINI. Well, then it comes down to not only talented people and relationships, but it comes down to financial resources.

Mr. ODOM. Absolutely.

Senator DECONCINI. And it just boggles my mind how political leaders don't want to make that commitment.

Mr. ODOM. It boggles mine, too, because what we are talking about is children. When we talk about the unemployed parents and how desperate that situation is, well, that is one thing. But when we are talking about children to whom you can't explain homelessness—you know, you can't explain homelessness to a child to a point to which they can understand it. You can explain it to the point to which they stop asking you, but they can't comprehend it

because there is nothing in their background that is going to help them understand what it is you are trying to explain.

You can't explain to them that they can't eat tonight or that they have to get down because of the bullets flying through. I mean, when they look at the rest of the world through the eyes of TV and what not, they don't see the rest of the world living the way they do, so they resent the rest of the world.

Senator DECONCINI. Well, even if they have a home, the bullets are flying through the neighborhood.

Mr. ODOM. Exactly. So it boggles my mind that we are here today and you are talking about $10 million. One of the things that people do—very quickly, they can add up what they don't have, versus add up what they do have, and it is very simple for low-income people or children who are in gangs, or whatever, to see what this country is investing in, and it is not them.

So when we start talking about the American dream and all of those things, hogwash. They don't want to hear it because they can see very, very simply—their parents are testifying to them every day that this country is not investing in them. They don't have to be an MIT graduate to walk outside their front door and look around and know no one is investing in them.

Senator DECONCINI. We are building B–2 bombers.

Mr. ODOM. Exactly.

Senator DECONCINI. Dr. Garbarino?

Mr. GARBARINO. When I was in Kuwait in the early days after the end of the Gulf war, I saw the U.S. Army come in and help put that society to rights, get the power running, get the water going. You know we are not making that kind of effort.

I think you are right that there is a kind of interplay between the physical quality of these neighborhoods, the social quality, and the psychological experience. There is research conducted over the last 20 years, for example, that points out that if you allow graffiti to start to accumulate in a neighborhood, it sends out a message: one, that people don't care and, two, that this is a place where you can get away with things.

We don't tend to intervene immediately to get the graffiti off, which is one way to send out the right message. We may wait weeks, months, and it begins to build up, and then it begins to create a climate which seems permissive with regard to antisocial behavior. So I think early intervention to strengthen the physical quality is important, bringing the institutions back into these communities. Places like this—a housing project I was visiting in Chicago—there are no institutions other than the police.

The thing that reminded me so much of the refugee camps was, at 5 in the Khmer refugee camps all the international aid workers go home. The presence of the outside world stops and the gang, the political faction that runs the camp, is in charge, precisely what happens in the housing project. At 5, all the social workers, all the educators go home, leaving behind people at the mercy of the gangs. So we have to bring back in the normal things—the Boy Scouts, all of that stuff.

Senator DECONCINI. Doctor, are you familiar with the New Turf Program in Arizona where, for $300,000, in Federal money, they opened three of these pilot projects, less than $100,000 each, and

they pay one staff person? What they do is the city puts up the building. They assign two policemen there who stay there all the time, or rotate, and they get to be known in the community. They form neighborhood watches. They do dance lessons, and they develop activities and they get other agencies to help. Have you heard of the program?

Mr. GARBARINO. Yes, I have of it, and I think it is right on the mark. It is taking back into the fold this community.

Senator DECONCINI. That is exactly what it is.

Mr. GARBARINO. And I think it is critically important that we get police out of their cars onto the streets. There is no substitute for that.

Senator DECONCINI. My last question is, I am sure you are familiar with the program that put police into the classrooms for drug education—the DARE Program. Do you find that that is helpful at all? I have been to them and I am very impressed, but I wonder if it really does much more than alert them to drugs and maybe make them aware of drugs and how bad they are. But I am impressed with some of these officers who have had the training that goes beyond just the drug part of it, and into how you relate with your peers, with your parents, and the sense that you are important. I wonder if you have any comment on that program or any others that have been put together.

Mr. ODOM. Well, the key word you use is the relationship. In junior high school when I was growing up, we had three policemen who were assigned to our school. That was their beat, our junior high school. We couldn't go on field trips or anything. I mean, we were in prison inside of our junior high. In fact, our class was the only one allowed to go on field trips.

But after a while, they became just part of the structure. They became part of the establishment. They didn't develop a relationship. They were just policemen inside our facility, just like policemen outside. So if they can, within their uniform, form relationships and be friends to these young people and go beyond the drug stuff—you know, we are teaching children about drugs and what they do to them. I don't understand that either because I remember, as an object lesson, when the kids were sniffing glue, we took this glue and put it in a plastic bag in front of this class. And I don't want people, interested in saving animals, to get all upset about this, but we took a little white mouse and put it inside this bag with the glue and held it up, and this mouse ran around and went into convulsions, and so on and so on. And I said, doesn't this teach you something? And they said, yes, mice shouldn't mess with glue.

Senator DECONCINI. It depends on how it is done.

Mr. ODOM. Exactly.

Senator DECONCINI. Are you personally aware, or have you observed the DARE Program?

Mr. ODOM. No, I haven't.

Senator DECONCINI. Do you have any comments on it?

Mr. GARBARINO. Not directly, no.

Senator DECONCINI. I may be wrong, but I am impressed with the fact that putting someone of authority in a police uniform, not talking about punishment and not talking about harsh law enforce-

ment, but talking about relationships, seems to me to work, and I just wondered if any of you had had any experience with it or if you had any observations on it. It is a different approach for these officers, believe me. They have to go get some training because it is a different approach than when they go in and talk tough. They go in and they talk about how to detect what these drugs are; how you have got to get along in the family; what do you do with peer pressure; what do you do when your mother comes home drunk, or your father does, or one wants drugs; how do you cope with it and how do you continue to stay in the family instead of just going and calling the police and expecting them to come down and arrest them.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for these hearings. They are very, very helpful, and I hope we can pass your legislation.

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Senator DeConcini. Thank you very much, gentlemen. You have been very helpful this morning and we appreciate your taking the time to come here.

Mr. ODOM. I just wanted to share one closing point. We had a young man from Milwaukee who was going to be here this morning, and we found out late last night that he was going to talk about how his life is changing, but his probation officer refused to let him come here. I guess he figured punishment was more important. Thank you.

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much.

Our second panel of witnesses will focus on strategies for preventing and deterring youth gangs and violence. We have with us Mr. Anthony Maggiore and Dr. Deborah Prothrow-Stith. Mr. Maggiore is also from Milwaukee. An adjunct professor at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, Mr. Maggiore is now working with the office of the district attorney on youth homicides. He also has many years of experience with youth issues, having directed programs at the Social Development Commission for 20 years, and prior to that he was a street worker who designed gang programs.

Dr. Prothrow-Stith is also an expert on youth. Now an assistant dean at the Harvard School of Public Health, she was formerly Commissioner of Public Health for the State of Massachusetts. She has written a book called "Deadly Consequences: How Violence is Destroying our Teenage Population."

We are very happy to have you both with us to share your ideas as to how we may approach this problem.

PANEL CONSISTING OF ANTHONY J. MAGGIORE, OFFICE OF THE MILWAUKEE COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY, MILWAUKEE, WI; AND DEBORAH PROTHROW-STITH, ASSISTANT DEAN, SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, BOSTON, MA

STATEMENT OF ANTHONY J. MAGGIORE

Mr. MAGGIORE. Thank you for inviting me, Senator. I submitted testimony to your staff, and I will not comment on the research we did for the DA's office and just focus on recommendations.

When the Federal funding reductions occurred in domestic programs 12 years ago, many of us who have worked with the poor for over 20 years knew the implications of such actions. Prior to such

cuts, there were not large numbers of severely poor people, nor long lines of people waiting for free food—WIC vouchers, health care. The homeless did not exist in great numbers, and though housing was a problem, it was not as severe as it is today, whereby many families have to double up to afford shelter. Employment training and skill development generated decent-paying jobs that only minimally exist today. Most importantly, most severely poor people had hope versus hopelessness.

When I was doing the study for the DA's office, it occurred to me that if this was white-on-white homicide versus black-on-black homicide, the reaction of bodies here in Washington and the reactions of officials in Milwaukee would be dramatically different.

In 1980, Milwaukee had 74 homicides, versus 165 in 1990. Homicides in 1991 are expected to be greater than 1990. Homicide crimes in Milwaukee increased significantly from 1986 on. Prior to Federal cuts, the homicide rate was not as high as it is today. The bulk of domestic programs prior to the Federal cuts not only generated opportunities for people and communities, but also promoted security in terms of crime. Thus, we should not be surprised by the intensification of social problems after such massive Federal cuts.

County and city of Milwaukee public school funding support for recreational programs has declined in recent years, resulting in the elimination or scaled-down programs in the central city. As you might expect, recreation is a necessary activity for youth and adults, not only occupying time and promoting teamwork, but also providing personal identity and skill development. Without adequate recreation in the central city, idle youth may be attracted to other alternatives that may include delinquency and violence.

My specific recommendations are as follows. Job programs, including job creation, for youth and adults: I find it difficult to understand why Congress is not considering job creation programs in light of our economic situation. The action taken recently on extending unemployment comp benefits was very helpful, but it is a short-term affair. In our State, it means 6 weeks of additional money from the State, and if you don't have a job after the 6 weeks, you are back being poor again and possibly going on welfare.

Youth employment should also be increased on an annual basis, and substantially during the summer. As mentioned earlier in my testimony, the greatest frequency of homicides occur in July and October in Milwaukee.

Second, early identification programs for youth, programs designed to discover problems of troubled youth at first and second grade, and provide them with a program to resolve their problems to the extent possible; promotion of child-bonding programs, programs that provide bonding with adults and children, adding to a child's security and identity.

Repeat offender programs: In light of Milwaukee County's recidivism—27 percent among youth released from Wisconsin juvenile institutions—intense treatment programs are needed to prevent further crime, especially violent crime.

Programs that promote alternatives for youth: Prior to the Federal cuts, with others I designed and administered a highly successful program funded by the Juvenile Justice Administration that

provided a variety of alternatives to delinquent youth, in cooperation with the Milwaukee children's court staff, judges, and a variety of other social agencies. The program provided restitution, jobs, alternative education, counseling, recreation, training, tutoring, assistance with basic needs to youth and families. The program was designed to divert youth from the juvenile justice system and it did that.

Alternatives make a difference, so when a child is growing up, if the child has alternatives, it makes a dramatic difference whether they are going to be involved in crime or delinquency or acceptable behavior.

Teen pregnancy prevention programs should be promoted, programs conducted by teens and adults on a group and individual basis utilizing peer influences; for the parents, parenting classes; promotion of conflict resolution skills in schools; programs emphasizing integrating conflict resolution skills in school education.

Promotion of deemphasis on violence in movies and television: Movies and television present an unreal world to children as well as to us. What happens is that it promotes unachievable expectations. People see things they want on TV and they are sold by commercial establishments, but can't achieve those expectations, be it the Jordan shoes or be it certain jackets from the Packers or be it jackets made in the central city. They want that kind of stuff if it is sold very actively on TV and is popular in the central city. More importantly, TV allows people to think they can live a life that most of them, especially severely poor people, can never live. Then the option, of course, is to try to find a way—either kill people or steal such items.

Programs that enhance, strengthen and promote constructive minority identity formation are needed through television, movies, advertising, newspapers, one-on-one mentoring programs, utilization of public and private people of influence, integration of minority achievements in history books—activities all promoting positive identity formation.

Another item is establishing profamily policies and orientation of current domestic programs. As you act here in Washington on the social program, it should be viewed from many perspectives. One of them is, is it family-oriented, or what are the implications toward the family.

Another program is specialized programs to serve the repeat offenders in domestic violence situations. As indicated previously, many homicides are caused by domestic-related disputes and are a crime. Specialized services and intensified law enforcement activities may act as a deterrent for repeat offenders. Studies have shown that certain members of minority groups commit domestic—battered women—commit domestic violence four times more than white people.

Another emphasis is establishing survivors of homicide programs. Many children, youth and adults need help to resolve feelings after the death of a loved one, son, brother, sister, has occurred. Homicides tend to occur with frequency in certain neighborhoods, and sometimes homicide reoccurs in the same family or in the families of relatives or neighbors. Exposure to violence may cause serious emotional problems for many of the youth. Programs

designed to bring people together to discuss feelings and the situation may have a constructive psychological and preventative effect.

Another recommendation is to fully fund Head Start. Since Head Start has demonstrated program success, it should be fully funded. Promote reduction of fear of crime: Many times, the fear of crime is greater than the incidence, resulting in negative consequences for people—that is, the elderly fear of crime—as well as increasingly, youth. Central-city children often arm themselves with guns due to fear. Efforts to influence newspapers and the mass media to report crime responsibly, within its realistic occurrence, and also to educate the public on safety, should be undertaken.

In addition, the State of Wisconsin is a waiver State and should be allowed, with other like States, to spend money on prevention. Though it is a waiver State and though we haven't yet achieved complete jail removal, we should be allowed to spend some of our Federal money or percentage of money that we currently have—that is, several million dollars—on prevention programs in the State. Currently, until we become a fully certified State, we are unable to spend any money on anything, other than jail removal, and that doesn't make sense. In light of current gang and homicide activities, programs should be directed to preventative efforts, and it could be a percentage, 10 to 25 percent. I encourage you to consider trying to arrange for that to happen.

Another series of programs should occur in multiservice centers, centers that provide a variety of services to low-income people in poverty neighborhoods. In addition to that, youth service centers specifically focusing on youth are needed. Obviously, gun control is needed, and programs designed to serve alcohol and drug abuse victims are also needed.

I mentioned in my earlier testimony that alcohol was a greater problem in the police records than drugs, but drugs are also a problem. Assistance for both problems should be provided for high-risk families in the central city.

There is an element of health. Screening and medical treatment for individuals prone to violence should happen. In other words, we can't separate homicide from health. There are some serious health factors that may influence whether homicide occurs or not.

Referral of domestic violence cases to mental health centers when it is warranted, especially for repeat domestic violence cases: examination of how long it takes to get a person to the hospital after they have been shot; as I was going through the records for 1990, I noticed that many times, not all the time, that it occurred with unusual frequency that the police would take the people who were shot to county hospitals almost 10 miles away, versus to a hospital three or four blocks away, or six blocks away or 2 miles away. I think that should be examined in terms of relationship of, once people are shot, how long it takes them to get to a hospital. I would suspect that this is a feature in whether some people die or not. At least, in my analysis, it certainly raised a question.

Gang diversion programs are also needed, with outreach workers who contact the gangs, and hopefully well-trained workers to do that. Action research is needed to seek ways to reduce violence and homicide. I mentioned in my testimony that one has to look at these facts tentatively because they are based on police records

that don't report completely all the elements that one would need to develop effective programs to reduce homicides. So action research that interviews the parents, the relatives, the offenders needs to be gathered, studied and analyzed, and then out of that, as well as other factors, one can develop sound programs, hopefully, that would reduce homicides.

Finally, poverty and racism are related to many other social problems—homicides, gangs, abuse of women and children, addiction. Our task should be to eliminate poverty. If we reduce poverty, many of the other problems will be reduced. Our rate in this country is double the rate of poverty in Canada, Great Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, France, Sweden. There has to be a decent explanation why we have a much higher rate of poverty than many of the Western nations in the world.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Maggiore follows:]

Milwaukee's Escalating Homicide Rate:

1990 Data +-Comments - Recommendations

Anthony J. Maggiore

November 26, 1991

Thank you, Senator Kohl, for inviting me to testify at this hearing. My name is Anthony Maggiore. I am an Adjunct Professor of Social Welfare for the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. I am also a consultant on community energy, criminal justice and social service with municipal, state and private agencies in Wisconsin. From 1969 to 1990 I was the Associate Director for community action programs for the Community Relations-Social Development Commission (CR-SDC) in Milwaukee County. During such employment I was responsible for design, development, administration and evaluation of programs operated and sub-contracted by CR-SDC. With state authorities and others we designed, developed and administered gang diversion programs. Prior to such employment I was a street gang worker with a Puerto Rican gang in Milwaukee.

Summary of 1990 Homicide Data for the City of Milwaukee

With the cooperation of the Milwaukee County District Attorney and the Milwaukee Police Department, we obtained basic data on homicide victims and suspects/offenders for the period of January 1 through December 31, 1990. All the individual records were revieved by myself and Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission staff. A summary of the basic data follows:

Victims:			Suspects/Offenders:		
Total:		165 victims	Total:		141 known suspects
Ages:	0-17	12%	Ages:	0-17	18%
	0-20	27%		0-20	40%
	0-30	64%		0-30	78%
	0-35	80%		0-35	86%
	16-34	72%		16-34	84%
Sex:	Male	82.4%		Male	90.1%
	Female	17.6%		Female	9.9%

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Victims:

Race:

Black	72.1%
Hispanic	5.5%
White	22.4%

Victims were primarily black males (61%)

Suspects/offenders:

Race:

Black	83.7%
Hispanic	7.8%
White	7.1%
Other	1.4%

Offenders and/or suspects were primarily black males (74%)

Weapon Used:

Firearms	67.9% (primarily handgune)
Knives	13.9%
Body Force	9.8%
Other	10.3%

Relationship of Suspect to Victim

Friend or acquaintance	41.8%
Family or household	16.4%
Justifiable homicide	2.4%
Stranger	18.2%
Not established	21.2%

It should be noted that the relationship in 58% of the homicides is that of a friend, acquaintance, family or household member.

Alcohol, Drugs, Gangs and Prior History

Of the 165 police records reviewed for 1990, 115 records or 70% included information that alcohol and drugs were being used by the victim and/or offender or suspect in some way, i.e., drinking, sitting in a tavern, using, delivering or selling drugs, etc. The review indicated that 98 homicide victims and 50 suspects were using or involved with alcohol and drugs.

Of the 98 victims:

64% used alcohol
31% used drugs
5% used both

Of the 50 offenders or suspects:

56% used alcohol
36% used drugs
8% used both

It should be understood that not all cases are resolved (20+) and thus there are no suspects.

In 15-20% of the cases, either the victim, suspect or both were believed to be involved with gangs and at least 5% of the homicides appear to be gang-related.

At least 80 or 48% of the offenders/suspects and 62 or 38%

of the victims have a history of criminal behavior often involving violence.

Frequency of Homicides by Month

Homicides occurred more frequently in July and October for 1989 and 1990.

Circumstances of Homicide

According to police records reviewed, the most frequent circumstance of a homicide was an argument, although details of the argument were not clear or were unavailable.

Homicide Locations

Over half of Milwaukee homicides occur in an area often referred to as the near north side or the central city.

General Information

The vast majority of both victims and suspects/offenders are between the ages of 16 and 34. The characteristics of offenders in homicide cases are often similar to those of the victim. Both tend to be young, male, poor, unemployed and black. In comparison to 1989, homicide cases in Milwaukee have increased by 42%. In 1990, the homicide rate was 25.8 per 100,000 population.

Financial and Social Services Assistance History for Homicide Victims and Suspects/Offenders

With the cooperation of the Milwaukee branch of the Wisconsin Department of Social Services, we obtained information as to the financial and social service activity of victims and suspects/offenders for the past five years, as provided by public agencies. The information is as follows:

Financial Assistance:	Victims:	Offenders/Suspects:
Received assistance	35%	44%
No assistance received	65%	56%

If burial assistance is included, approximately 50% of the victims received assistance.

Of the 35% of the victims and 44% of the suspects/offenders receiving financial aid, the most frequently used assistance categories were AFDC, food stamps and medical assistance, for both victims and suspects/offenders.

Social Service Assistance:	Victims:	Offenders/Suspects:
Received service	30%	27%
No service received	70%	73%

Of the 30% of the victims and 27% of the offenders/suspects receiving service, alcohol and other drug-related services (out-patient, in-patient, residential, etc) enrolled the greatest number.

Comments

The above data indicates that most victims and suspects/offenders did not receive public financial aid and social services during the past five years. Available information indicates that the majority of victims and suspects/offenders appears to be poor. This population may be part of a growing poverty subgroup in the Milwaukee community involved with and/or related to homicide victims and suspects/offenders. Review of police records and public welfare information indicate that they are severely poor and tend to live on the fringes of society independent of public and private agencies. In comparison to most poor, this population appears to have a higher rate of unemployment, less education, fewer but intense social relationships, less intact marriages, predominance of single parenthood, more frequent uses of alcohol (i.e. 40 ounce bottles of beer often referred to in the records) and experience more severe economic hardships.

It should be noted that Milwaukee has a high rate of births to unmarried women. For example, in 1968 among black women, 40% of births were to the unmarried versus 1987 when births to black

unmarried women rose to 80%. Among white women in 1987, 23% of births were to the unmarried. Single parenthood tends to be related to lower incomes, less job opportunities and poverty, especially for minority women.

In addition, a study in 1990 following 1,000 children in disrupted families (Furstenberg and Harris, University of Pennsylvania) found that fathers of all races are losing contact with their children: 60% of black fathers in the study had not seen their children in the previous year compared to 47% of white fathers. Severely poor people tend to be overwhelmed with poverty, struggling day by day to make ends meet their needs. They and their children experience constant hopelessness, increasing alienation, and inadequate basic resources, i.e., food, clothing, shelter, security, etc., in addition to the impact on social relationships.

Lack of identity figures for minority youth is prevalent in Milwaukee and the state of Wisconsin. As you are probably aware, our juvenile institutions are greatly over-represented by minority inmates and under-represented by minority staff. Thus, development of identity is very difficult to develop in juvenile and adult institutions. Lack of employment opportunities which promote self-definition and economic independance further intensifies problems confronting minority, severely poor people.

Data presented above on homicide victims and suspects/offenders is tentative. Interviews and action-oriented research is needed. Interviews of victim and offender relatives and friends and interviews of offenders are necessary to further develop and verify the above data. Action research would seek to develop approaches to reduce homicide.

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In addition, we may be able to learn more about how this population lives, their values and lifestyle, how they obtained weapons, reasons why there is a readiness to use weapons to settle disputes versus other approaches, actions that may have prevented the homicide, relationships to public and private agencies, etc.

Recommendations

When the federal financial reductions occurred in domestic programs 12 years ago, many of us who have worked with the poor for over 20 years knew the implications of such actions.

Prior to such cuts, there weren't large numbers of severely poor people, nor long lines of people waiting for free food, WIC vouchers and health care. The "homeless" did not exist in great numbers and though housing was a problem, it was not as severe as it is today whereby many families have to "double-up" to afford shelter. Employment, training and skill development generated decent wage-paying opportunities that only minimally exist today. Most importantly, most severely poor people had hope versus today's hopelessness. In 1980, Milwaukee had 74 homicides versus 165 in 1990. Homicides in 1991 are expected to be greater than 1990.

Homicide crimes in Milwaukee increased significantly from 1986 on. Prior to the federal cuts, the homicide rate was not as high as it is today.

The bulk of domestic programs prior to the federal cuts not only generated opportunities for people and communities, but also promoted security in terms of crime.

County, city and Milwaukee Public Schools funding support for recreation programs has declined in recent years, resulting in elimination or scaled-back programs in the central city. As you might expect, recreation is a necessary activity for youth and adults, not only occupying time and promoting teamwork, but also providing personal identity and skill development. Without adequate recreation in the central city, idle youth may be attracted to other alternatives that may include delinquency and violence.

My specific recommendations are as follows:

A. Job Programs Including "Job Creation."

Youth employment should be increased on an annual basis and substantially during the summer. As mentioned earlier, the greatest frequency of homicides have occurred in July and October in Milwaukee.

B. Early Identification Programs for Youth

Programs designed to discover "problem or troubled" youth at the 1st and 2nd grade and provide them with a program to resolve their problems to the extent possible.

C. Promotion of Child Bonding Programs

Programs that promote bonding with adults and children, adding to a child's security and identity.

D. Repeat Offender Programs

In light of Milwaukee County recidivism (27%) among youth releasees from Wisconsin juvenile institutions, intense programs are needed to prevent further crime, especially violent crime.

E. Alternatives for Youth Programs

Prior to the federal cuts, with others I designed and administered a program funded by the Juvenile Justice Administration that provided a variety of alternatives to delinquent youth. In cooperation with Milwaukee Childrens

Court staff, judges and a variety of community agencies, the program was highly successful. The program provided restitution, jobs, alternative education, counseling, recreation, training, tutoring, assistance with basic needs, etc., to youth and parents. Most youth had hope for themselves and their families. The programs were designed to divert youth from the juvenile justice system.

F. Teen Pregnancy Prevention Programs

Programs conducted by teens and adults on a group and individual basis utilizing peer influences.

G. Promotion of Conflict Resolution Skills in Schools

Program emphasis integrating conflict resolution skills in school education.

H. Promotion of De-Emphasis on Violence in Movies and Television

I. Enhance, Strengthen and Promote Constructive Identity Formation

Through television, movies, advertising, newspaper, one-on-one mentoring programs, utilization of public and private people of influence, integration of minority achievements in history books, etc --all promoting positive identity formation.

J. Establishing Pro-Family Policies and Orientation of Current and New Domestic Programs.

K. Specialized Programs to Serve the Repeat Offenders in Domestic Violence Situations

As indicated previously, many homicides are caused by domestic-related disputes. . Specialized services and intensified law enforcement activities may act as a deterrent for repeat offenders.

L. Establish Survivors of Homicide Programs

Many children, youth and adults need to be helped to resolve feelings after death of a loved one, son, brother, sister, etc., has occurred.

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Homicides tend to occur with frequency in certain neighborhoods and sometimes homicide reoccurs in the same family or in the families of relatives or neighbors.

Programs designed to bring people together to discuss feelings and the situation may have a constructive psychological and preventative effect.

M. Fully Fund Head Start.

Since Head Start has demonstrated program success, it should be fully funded.

N. Promote Reduction of the Fear of Crime

Many times the fear of crime is greater than the incidence, resulting in negative consequences for people (i.e. elderly). Central city children often arm themselves with guns due to fear. Efforts to influence newspapers and the mass media to report crime responsibly within its realistic occurrence and also to educate the public on safety, should be undertaken.

Senator KOHL. Thank you, Mr. Maggiore.
Dr. PROTHROW-STITH.

STATEMENT OF DR. DEBORAH PROTHROW-STITH

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Good morning. It is my honor to come before you to share some thoughts on the issue of adolescent violence. As a physician, I grew quite tired of seeing young people come to the emergency room again and again, shot, stabbed, or wounded in any number of ways. It was clear that there was no prevention arm to the medical response. I was to stitch them up and send them out.

As I trained further, I realized that this was the only problem where I had no responsibility for prevention. Every other medical problem I saw required some prevention or referral activity. If I saw a patient wirth heart disease, I learned to get involved in efforts to change exercise and diet behavior. For lead poisoning, we had the house deleaded before we sent the child home. For suicide, we got involved in issues of depression and preventing future suicide attempts. Yet, with violence, we stitched people up and sent them out. I grew quite tired of the vicious cycle.

I started studying violence. I want to broaden today's discussion a bit and talk about American violence. Not just adolescent violence. We stand out among industrialized countries as having one of the highest homicide rates in the world. Most of this violence occurs between friends and family members. What is our problem?

Is it guns? Yes, guns play a tremendous role. Yet, in Sweden, there is a gun in every household. Is it poverty? Yes, poverty plays a tremendous role in this issue of violence. Yet, this is not the poorest country in the world. Is it overcrowding? Yes. There is a study of Atlanta that shows that the black community and the white community had the same domestic homicide rates when overcrowding was taken into consideration. But Hong Kong is the most crowded city in the world and they do not have the homicide rates that we have.

It is guns, it is poverty, it is overcrowding, and it is the uniquely American problem of a culture that is infatuated with violence. We love it, we glamorize it, we teach it to our children. Adolescents aren't making up this love of violence; they aren't creating this lack of empathy, this glorified shoot-them-up, blow-them-away. We have taught them this glamorous view of violence. With the use of public health strategies we have the opportunity to start preventing some of this violence, by changing our attitudes and behavior.

Instead of efforts to prevent violence, we only work to punish it. Punishment alone doesn't work. We have doubled the number of people in prison and over the last decade the violent crime rate has not gone down. Punishment is not prevention and won't solve this problem. We must add to punishment what we in public health call primary prevention.

I will use smoking as an analogy. Primary prevention is the education, the information and the media campaigns. It is the creation of social norm against smoking. It is what you do to keep people who don't smoke from starting. And then there is also secondary prevention, strategies for those people who smoke and are at

higher risk. These strategies concentrate on behavior modification. With smoking, they might be group therapy, one-to-one counseling, or hypnosis. With violence, they are the first offender programs within the juvenile justice. These behavior modification strategies ought to be available when I see someone in the emergency room. Why do we wait until they are convicted of a violent offense?

Finally there is tertiary prevention; strategies for someone with lung cancer. Tertiary prevention or intervention is all we are doing for violence, incarceration and punishment. I am here advocating for primary prevention; that we look at our culture, our media, and our education. I'm advocating for secondary prevention; not waiting until kids are convicted, but offering behavior modification when I see them in the emergency rooms and when the first- and second-grade teachers see them and when the clergy tell us that they are in trouble, then we institute some prevention.

I am not pessimistic because I know that we haven't tried to prevent this problem. In fact, we promote the problem and then punish it. If we start preventing it, we can be successful.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Prothrow-Stith follows:]

HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Deborah Prothrow-Stith, M.D.
Assistant Dean, Government and Community Programs
Lecturer, Health Policy and Management

Testimony Before the Senate Judiciary Committee

Tuesday, November 26, 1991

9:30 a.m.

I bring a special perspective to the subject of curbing violence, especially violence in our schools and the streets of our cities, because I am a doctor and previously, Massachusetts public health commissioner. Now, as an assistant dean and member of the faculty at the Harvard School of Public Health, I am very involved in helping people, particularly doctors, understand adolescent violence as a public health problem.

During my internship at the Boston City Hospital I became frustrated with the common attitude that violence among young adults, mostly black males, was somehow inevitable. I strongly believe that this violence, most of it what I call "acquaintance violence," is preventable.

There is no better setting than the schools to implement a violence prevention strategy. As public health practitioners, we know that some of the social and cultural influences related to the risk of violent behavior are not easily changed. Poverty, racism, adolescent developmental issues and gender expectations, are not easily changed. It is the personal, behavioral and spontaneous characteristics of violence that raise the most concern and which, fortunately, offer opportunities for intervention. About 50% of victims and assailants know each other; 20% of victims and assailants are members of the same family. One-half of homicides are precipitated by an argument, compared to only 15% occurring in the course of committing another crime.

Evidence is mounting that violence is a learned response to stress and conflict. Violence on television has also been associated with violent behavior in children and youth. There

are public health strategies currently being developed which directly respond to these facts about violence among youth today. In this testimony, I will describe aspects of one such strategy: violence prevention programs for our schools.

First, it is important to understand that I am talking about saving our children, helping our children to survive in a turbulent world which condones violence. Schools are an essential setting for helping children learn how to get along together. Historically, schools and public health have been partners in many types of prevention programs designed to respond to disease epidemics and health problems: vaccinations for polio, diptheria, mumps and measles; health and vision testing, innoculations for tuberculosis and screening for scoliosis; and courses about fitness, nutrition and reproduction, exercise and physical education programs, and so forth.

I submit to you that violence is a public health problem of epidemic proportions which can be remediated in the schools. There are two things the schools must do: (1) help kids learn and (2) help kids learn how to manage anger and conflict. Indeed, helping kids learn is especially complicated for inner city black children.

The fact is that learning is a vital form of violence prevention. I am author of the first violence prevention curriculum for schools. Extensive work with the curriculum has shown that kids have to be able to use words, instead of force, to settle their differences. English, math and science skills help kids to reason through stressful and difficult situations. If we can successfully promote learning among all kids, we can promote survival of our children.

But, the academic failure of black males is well documented. One in 4 black males ages 20-29 is incarcerated, on probation or on parole. Drop-out rates of black youth, especially boys, hover between 37% and 80% in inner city schools in Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago and Boston. Research by education experts has shown that racism and what has been called by some, "antagonism," misshapes the early childhood education experience of many black children. The teenagers who make it through high school are discouraged from trying higher education. This is in stark contrast to the well established fact that all kids in the first grade, given reasonably healthy starts, are hungry to learn.

There are several aspects of this difficult phenomenon that can be turned around.

First, we must address teacher prejudice about the abilities of black children, i.e., expectations which are communicated to the child in the classroom. Studies of positive versus negative reinforcement show that the first predominates for white children, especially girls, and is particularly absent for little black boys. By the time these children have reached 10 or 11 years of age, the school and the children have frequently become adversaries. Feelings of cynicism about their opportunities and personal potential supplant feelings of hopefulness and the desire to learn.

We know that what I call "high profile parenting" makes a difference for children. In a study which compared the school achievement of children by race, socioeconomic status and parent involvement, the achieving children had one thing in common -- parents who cared and were able to be involved. The story of Jaime Escalante of Garfield High School, Los Angeles, featured in the movie Stand and Deliver, exemplifies the gifted, inspired teacher. His special quality was teaching parents how to be involved in their children's education.

Institutional change must be fostered. Attitudes about children's potential have to change and expand. This country differs dramatically in its attitude toward learning from Israel and Japan, as two important examples. These cultures hold very dear the basic principal that all children can learn. In our system, the "tracking" of children starts early and, in a real sense, closes doors for most inner city children. The failure feedback "loop", the cycle of discouragement that begins when a child ceases to be challenged and valued by his adult role models, has to be replaced by the success-building-upon-success experience which most white middle class children can take for granted.

This can occur when leadership within the schools requires such change. Dr. Jeff Howard's Efficacy Institute, based in Boston, works with school systems to improve academic achievement by challenging traditional assumptions about learning which "pigeonholes" children. He works with teachers and

administrators to instill empathy for their less successful students and he works with children to re-shape their feelings about themselves. He points to the fact that children who can learn a spoken language at age three or four can fully develop their intelligence -- but only with use. Self-confidence and serious effort, he says, are two critical ingredients for achievement which teachers can help to inspire in every child.

The management of anger and conflict is the second major issue which schools can address. There is no better place to learn to assert one's own needs, opinions and angry feelings without losing control than in the schools. Many have referred to this as the 4th "R" - relationships. The Peacemaker Program of New York City, a collaboration between the NYC Board of Education and Educators for Social Responsibility, provides a useful model for a program for children focused on building interpersonal and mediation skills.

The glamorizing of violence in the media compounds the problems of kids who don't learn about peaceful resolution of conflict at home, and makes programs like this one essential. The violence prevention curriculum for adolescents is designed to engage children, help them think about their own behavior, appreciate the control they can exert over their own behavior, and helps them to question their assumptions about the inevitability of fighting.

The curriculum helps kids look at the dynamics of fights, e.g., that fights always have a history and usually occur among acquaintances, and we role-play ways to resolve disputes and tense encounters. The embarrassment and loss of social standing in declining to fight, kids learn, will always be felt. But the higher cost of losing one's life or serious injury begins to gain importance for these children whose self-esteem is already low.

Kids are taught that using anger constructively can change their world, rather than result in harm to themselves or peers.

It is important to recognize that kids who are asked to choose not to fight are beginning a new trend. This is difficult for most children. We live in a society which condones violence; television and movies frequently portray a hero who fights with guns and who never dies.

What is the prescription for change? We must implement, throughout this society, violence prevention programs which change children's and parents' attitudes about violence, promote non-violance, and teach peaceful resolution of conflict.

Respectfully submitted,

Deborah Prothrow-Stith, M.D.
Assistant Dean for Government and Community Programs
Harvard School of Public Health

Senator KOHL. It was said earlier today that in this country the powers that be have written off 20 percent of our population. Dr. Prothrow-Stith, do you think there is some truth to that?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Well, I do think that issues of racism and classism keep us from dealing with violence the way we deal with other health problems, and that certainly spills over into even the criminal justice approach and the other approaches.

While many are unconcerned about that 20 percent and maybe have even written them off, I find hope in the students that I meet in classrooms while teaching the curriculum on violence. They haven't written themselves off, and the investment in these children by adults, primarily of their time, carries them a long, long way. If we plug into some of the energy and the resources that teens have, we can really begin to address this problem.

Mr. MAGGIORE. I believe there is an attitude, especially in terms of the black-on-black homicide, that would run like this, if the blacks want to kill themselves, let them do it, because if there wasn't that attitude, much different actions would have occurred several years ago on the rising rate of minority homicides in the country.

I don't think we should be about writing anybody off, whether we are talking about blacks, Asians, whites, but we do tend to do that. I think to the extent to which we write off people on the lower end, because my belief is that most of them are poor, that is going to eventually affect us as a nation.

Senator KOHL. Well, I want to make sure I understand what you are saying. Here at the Federal level we decide how to spend tax dollars: we make choices. Are you all saying that when we decide how to spend tax dollars, we write off 20 percent of the people? Is that what your are implying?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Well, I think you certainly buy into a mechanism that helps to write off 20 percent of the people. It would be very inspiring to many of us who are working with a lot of the children and the adolescents to see the Judiciary Committee say we are spending $16 billion on the 1 million inmates in jails and prisons across the United States, and we are going to redirect some of that money because punishment alone doesn't work.

It would be quite inspiring to see some joint hearings with health and education on this issue, recognizing that criminal justice strategies alone are not going to solve this problem. And I think there is a way of spending tax dollars that buys into the same strategies which, by design or by default, leave out a significant number of youth.

Mr. MAGGIORE. Twelve years ago, in terms of the massive Federal cuts, in effect, you did write off aid to poor people. The cuts were that severe, and action hasn't been taken to try to readjust Federal funding to meet some of the needs in the cuts that occurred at that time.

It should be understood that the problem has gotten substantially worse. We have many more poor people today than we did then. We didn't have black-on-black homicide of huge dimension as we have today prior to the cuts. So we can resolve our problems locally if we want to, and federally. The issue is whether or not the Federal Government is willing to do that.

It isn't just an issue of money oftentimes. Oftentimes, it is an issue of leadership, especially in the form of the President. If the President is not going to lead the country in trying to resolve domestic problems, then we are trying to do things with our hands tied behind our backs. So money is very important, but leadership is also extremely important.

Senator KOHL. In a recent article, we read about girls who are now joining gangs to commit violence on other girls. Do you have any knowledge of this in Boston or Milwaukee? Would you like to comment, Dr. Prothrow-Stith?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. One of the things that interested me about this whole issue was that most of the middle school principals with whom we work suggest that they are having more of a problem with girls fighting than they are with boys fighting, and I do think it is a reflection of an increase in young women participating not only in gang activity, but just in violent behavior, in general.

I would highlight one of the issues that was raised that really has to do with movies. I think we both have talked about it. Probably, it came out in the earlier panel as well. The heroes, and now heroines, in the movies use violence as a first choice, and they are always successful and they are always rewarded and they are never hurt very badly and they are always there for next week's show.

They glamorize violence. There is no pain, there is no tragedy, there is no sorrow. We saw a young man in the emergency room surprised that his gunshot wound hurt. He was about 14 years old, and my initial response was, boy, he is really stupid; anybody knows a gunshot wound hurts. Yet, when I thought about it, what he has really seen in the movies, in particular, is the superhero gets shot in the right arm and holds on to the truck going around the corner, uses his left arm to shoot and overcome the driver, and kills a few hundred other people on the way down this mountain as they go around, and safely, you know, gets the truck to the bottom of the hill, and there is no pain.

I do think that the cultural issues are significant, including the portrayal of women in very violent roles. There is also the violence

against women and the sexism that comes across in the movies that contributes significantly to that.

Right outside of Boston is a fairly wealthy town, Beverly, and a young woman, 14 years old, was killed by her 16-year-old boyfriend. According to the Globe, he laughingly threw her body into the pond. I thought about a scene in "Total Recall" where Arnold Schwartzenegger finds out his wife is a spy. About 10 minutes after they have made love, he shoots her in the head and then walks out of the door saying, you can consider this a divorce—a very callous and careless comment about the violence, without pain, without tragedy, without sorrow.

So I think young men and young women are experiencing in some very heavy doses a very callous, careless, macho, make-my-day, it-is-fun, it-is-entertaining, this-is-the-way-to-solve-problems type of violence. Some children are more at risk; they tend to be urban poor males, but this really has an impact on the larger society.

Mr. MAGGIORE. In Milwaukee, girls getting involved in gangs has definitely increased, and girls having guns and being arrested with guns has also increased. It should be understood that the data that I reported on in terms of homicides in Milwaukee represents a small number of the shootings that occur. In other words, shootings are about 3-4 to 1 before someone is dead. More shootings occur than people get murdered.

Girls have become part of that recently, and unfortunately—and I agree with my colleague's statement on the TV and movies—some of the recent movies are beginning to portray women as leaders of gangs and leaders of illegal affairs. As that occurs and as women gain more stature in this country—unfortunately, not necessarily positive stature—I think you are going to see a major increase in shootings by women and women in gangs.

Senator KOHL. Well, in a free society, what do you suggest we do about the level of violence on TV and in the movies?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Well, I am counting on the grassroots efforts. Similar to Mothers Against Drunk Driving, there are parents organizations across the country. The Atlanta organization is called MOMS, Mothers of Murdered Sons—a very gripping title. In Detroit, the organization is SOSAD, Save Our Sons And Daughters. In Ohio, it is Parents of Murdered Children. I envision that at one point they will coalesce and be a real grassroots kind of movement that changes our attitudes.

Censorship is one way to look at it. Certainly, labeling such that parents have a sense of what their children are watching—and I know because to write the book I had to watch a lot of these movies that most adults haven't seen. So those are things that can be done, but when the first movie flops at the box office because our attitudes have changed—and hopefully that will be "Terminator 3"; my guess is that it is probably going to be 6 or 8—then we won't have a problem because the movie industry responds very quickly to the profit issue. When the movie doesn't make money, then you will see a new-style movie for young people.

It is swimming against the tide at this point, however. They are quite profitable, and I am investing in the kind of grassroots campaign that will change our attitudes.

Senator KOHL. I agree with you. It's the same on television at night. It's exciting, it's glamorous, and it's full of action.

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. Without a doubt.

Senator KOHL. Again, how would you suggest, in a free society, that we change the menu that television is offering to kids? What can we do?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. This is where public health is very helpful for me because one of the biggest successes we have had is around the issue of smoking. It used to be very glamorous. In fact, I used to buy those little candy cigarettes when I was a little girl, and I would stand in front of the television because all the movie stars smoked and it was a beautiful thing to do. It was very much glamorized in that sense.

Over some 25, 30 years, we have changed our attitudes with some very sophisticated strategies. Today, you can't smoke on an plane. Fifteen years ago, we used to sit on the plane and people would blow smoke in our faces. We didn't even have a change in attitudes that would have supported the legislation then that we have now. So it is a slower process than most of us would like. Yet, with drunk driving, it didn't take quite as long as it did with smoking, and I think it had a lot to do with the kind of grassroots campaign you had out of Mothers Against Drunk Driving.

But our attitudes and behavior can change, and once they change, again, the private sector follows. I saw an advertisement not too long ago for soda and it was being advertised as having no cholesterol. Well, I really had to laugh as a public health person because no soda has ever had cholesterol. Nobody puts grease in soda, but not having cholesterol had become the value so that everything was being measured against that.

So I invest in this attitude and behavior change even when you have big industry, because the tobacco industry is obviously a big industry, as is the movie industry and the gun industry. But we will get there.

Mr. MAGGIORE. I think the reaction against Michael Jackson's latest film says that when there is a lot of pressure to the industry, they do change, and they did change. The industry modified that film. I think education also needs to occur in trying to explain the unreality of things that may happen on TV and in movies, and having people from here talk to the industry, or to bring them in and get their reaction to what we are talking about in terms of the use of movies and the impact. But some action has to occur. If nothing is done, it just grows and grows and grows.

Senator KOHL. Well, thank you very much. You have been very helpful. Any further comments you would like to offer, anything you would like to say before we adjourn?

Dr. PROTHROW-STITH. I would like to read the last paragraph of the award-winning essay, and I would like to submit her whole essay for the record.

She is a 17-year-old student at the Jeremiah Burke High School, which is in North Dorchester, a neighborhood in Boston, and her whole essay is about her fear of violence and trying to find a safe way home. She closes with this:

> Tomorrow is another day and I wonder what it will bring, but deep down inside I already know that it will bring another day of trying to find a safe route home from

school, seeing the kids on the streets trying to be bad, seeing some old person walking in fear, seeing the police cars with their lights flashing and their sirens on, seeing ambulances coming and going, and seeing the youth of American being shot down and killed before they even had a chance to live.

Her fear is obvious, but what I think is also obvious there is her interest in this society, and if you scratch just below that fear you get a little bit of hope that there will be some change. And I think at the Federal level, and particularly with the leadership of the Judiciary Committee, we can help Mookia with her effort to find a safe way home.

Mr. MAGGIORE. My final comment is I would like to repeat what I said earlier that the action taken on unemployment comp benefits has serious implications. One is very helpful, but after the 6 weeks or 10 weeks or 13 weeks the State provides assistance, those people are going to be poor again, and the average was about 425,000 to 450,000 people per month. That is an awful lot of people becoming poor every month. So I encourage this committee to consider promoting a concept of job creation programs.

Senator KOHL. Thank you very much. This hearing is closed.

[Whereupon, at 11:20 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

[The following statement was subsequently submitted for the record:]

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF VICTOR DAVIS

Senate Committee

I would like to share with you my experience in terms of my involvement in gangs and as a African-American youth.

I got involved in gangs because I wasn't getting the support I needed in the Milwaukee Public Schools. There wasn't any recreational activities, or other opportunities for me that I could occupy my time. Being unskilled, it was difficult for me to obtain employment I felt disrespected form most authorities and it seemed that most people had their own opinion on me and would not listen to what I had to say or how I felt. I found that the gang I was with felt the same as I ands we then developed that bond. We did things that I regret, but most of all, it was done because of protection from other gangs.

I am no longer a gang member. I decided that what I was doing, and what I was doing to my family, didn't warrant the suffering nor pain that I caused to my loved ones. I got involved with the Social Development Commission Youth Diversion Program, and the counselors there did support me and assisted me to get back into school (I have graduated), and helped with transition back into the community.

I am working and now have become a manager. Without the effort of the counselors there I don't feel that I would be here writing these words to you.

If you are serious about getting young people out of the gangs and to stop young people from joining gangs, money needs to be put into the community, jobs, and better schooling. This would stop many problems in the Black communities.

I don't see young people these days any different from when I was younger. We all have needs and these needs to be addressed. Please show that you care and listen to what is being said by these young people, and work with them.

I do see progress being made. Although the younger people are still acting in violence.

Thank you for reading my words. They are important and they are written sincerely.

Thank you.

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